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EDITORS:

Dr. A. D. PUSALKER, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D.

Prof. JAYANTAKRISHNA H. DAVE, M. A., LL. B.

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NOTES AND NEWS

OUR GITA VIDYALAYA

This new department was started in June, 1944, to popularise the study of and research in the Gītā in particular and Hindu culture and religion in general. The organisation of Gītā Kendras, extension lectures by eminent scholars, part-time adult classes, examinations, essay competitions, publications and research in the Gītā, are at present some of its activities.

Gītā Kendras : The Kendras are Gītā study centres conducted under the guidance of our Gītā Vidyālaya where part-time classes are held by recognised teachers on the Gītā. Any person or institution, educational or otherwise, Hindu or non-Hindu, can conduct a Kendra. At present Kendras have been opened at the M. T. B. College, Surat, V. N. High School, Dharmaj, New High School, Gamdevi, Navchetan High School, Ahmedabad, Prajna Pathashala, Wai, Ardhamagadhi Vidyalyaya and Manohar Samskrit Vidyalyaya, Ahmedabad, Manekbai Samskrit and Vedic Pathashala, Porbunder and Raghunath Vidyalyaya, Ratan-gadh. A new Kendra was inaugurated by Shri Munshiji at the Astika Sāmaj, Matunga, on 12th January. Gītā classes are also conducted on all Saturdays and Sundays at the Bhavan which is open to the interested public who attend regularly.

Lectures : Distinguished scholars are delivering series of lectures on the Gītā at the Bhavan from their different points of view. This year Shri Munshiji, Mm. Anantakrishna Sastri, Hindutatvadipak Mahadev Shastri Divekar and Pandit S. D. Satavalekar have in all delivered twenty-eight lectures at the Bhavan in Samskrit, English, Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi.

Examinations : Our Gītā Praveś, Gītā Vid and Gītā Viśārad examinations were conducted from Monday the 22nd to Saturday the 27th January at three centres at Bombay, Dharmaj and Ahmedabad. The results will be announced on 1st March.

Essay Competitions : Medals worth Rs. 175/- have been offered for the best essays on Bhagavad Gītā and Life as part of the Bhavan's All-India Indian Culture Essay Competitions. The awards will be announced by the middle of next month.

Publications : Bhagavad Gītā Bharatiya Darśanāni Ca, being the summary of the ten lectures in Samskrit delivered by Mm. Anantakrishna Sastri, has been published. Further publications have been held up due to the restrictions on paper and printing.

The Gītā has given more than human power to countless men for the last twenty-five hundred years. It has provided the inspiration to immortal works. The great philosophers of our country like Shaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva have based their systems on the Gītā. The enormous awakening that we see around us in every branch of our national life owes its chief inspiration to the Gītā, and the ideal of the Karma Yogin is our salvation for our future. Numerous organisations are doing solid work in the Gītā in various parts of the country and more and more such institutions are bound to rise in the future. Our Gītā Vidyālaya seeks to extend its help and co-operation to every such institution in the achievement of our common goal.

THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

The seventh session of the Indian History Congress was held at Madras on the 29th, 30th and 31st of December 1944. The opening session was held at the Museum Theatre, Egmore, where after the welcome speech by Diwan Bahadur Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University and Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. T. Austin, Adviser to the Governor of Madras in his opening speech referred to the importance of public records. Dr. S. N. Sen, Director of Archives, in his Presidential Address laid stress on the true functions of a scientific historian, and on the importance of archaeology and archives which he described as "the twin pillars on which the foundation of scientific history must rest." Characterising our Universities as "the strongholds of stagnation", Dr. Sen made a strong plea in favour of the introduction of cognate subjects in the study of history and also of historical methods. He concluded by urging all to unite in a common effort to reconstruct the past. In the evening there was a fine display of Bharatanāṭyam.

In declaring open the Historical Exhibition in the University Departmental Buildings the next morning, Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty referred to the vast historical material lying unexplored in South India, and suggested the English translation of old Tamil texts as the remedy for inviting more attention from scholars to early South Indian history. The Exhibition contained

various specimens of historical importance sent by the Baroda, Cochin, Hyderabad, Mysore, Pudukottai and Travancore States, the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, the Government Museum, Madras, Tanjore Palace Library etc. Besides coins, copper plates, bronze and stone images and manuscripts, there were important records and treaties of the East India Company with Baroda, Karnatak, Tanjore etc.

The sectional meetings were held at the Presidency College from 11-30 a. m. to 1 p. m. and from 3 to 5-30 p. m., which were resumed the next morning. In the evening there were special lectures on the excavations in South India, illustrated by lantern slides, and also on Indological Studies in Poland, and Polish Culture and Civilization. Dr. Pusalkar and Prof. Gyanī represented the Bhavan.

The next session of the Congress is to be held at Annamalaiagar and the following have been elected as General President and Section-Presidents: General President: Dr. Tarachand. Section I: Dr. B. C. Law. Section II: Shri V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. Section III: Dr. I. H. Qureshi. Section IV: Dr. B. P. Saksena. Section V: Dr. I. B. Banerji.

A. D. P.

PROF. DR. A BERRIEDALE KEITH †
(B. 5-4-1879 — D. 6-10-1944)

In the sad demise of Professor Dr. A. Berriedale Keith on the 6th of October at Edinburgh at the age of 65, Indology and Constitutional and International Law alike have suffered a serious loss which it will indeed be difficult to overcome. He was a doyen of Sanskritists, and belonged to the versatile type of old Orientalists which is unfortunately fast dying out. It may be recalled that in an interview granted on the 30th September, but a few days before his death, Dr. Keith had pleaded for a National Government for India, expressed himself in favour of a united India and voted for the release of the Congress leaders.

Born on 5th April 1879, Prof. Keith received his early education at Edinburgh and Oxford. He was an extraordinarily brilliant student, proficient alike in Latin and Greek, and Oriental Classics. He topped the list of successful candidates at the Home and Colonial Civil Service. Dr. Keith began his career by joining the Colonial Office and won recognition for his meritorious services. During the absence of Prof. Dr. Macdonell in India, Prof. Keith worked as the Deputy Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. On Prof. Eggeling's retirement, Dr. Keith was appointed the Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Edinburgh in 1914. He was also Lecturer on the Constitution of the British Empire since 1927.

The number of his publications on Constitutional Law, International Law, and Sanskrit Literature in all its branches runs up to 70, all standard works on the subject, marked by thoroughness, precision and penetrating insight. Besides, he contributed a number of important articles to Oriental Journals. His publications in the domain of Constitutional and International Law, in which he was regarded as an authority, include *Responsible Government in Dominions*, *Home Administration of Indian Affairs*, *Selected Speeches and Documents on (1) British Colonial Policy, (2) Indian Policy and (3) the Dominions, Constitution, Administration and Law of the Empire, Sovereignty of British Dominions, The Crown, Governments of the British Empire, British Colonial System, Causes of the War, British Commonwealth, and Federation, its Nature and Conditions*. There was hardly any branch of Sanskrit Literature on which he did not write. His *Catalogues of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS* in the Bodleian and the India Office exhibit the same soundness and precision that are associated with everything he wrote. Of the different systems of Indian Philosophy, Dr. Keith has written on *Mīmāṃsā*, *Logic and Atomism*, *Sāṃkhya*, *Buddhist Philosophy and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*. In collaboration with Dr. Macdonell, Dr. KEITH prepared the *Vedic Index* in two volumes, which has been of immense service to all students of the Vedas ever since. He has translated with notes the *Āraṇyakas*, the *Taittirīya Samhitā* and the *Brāhmaṇas of the Rgveda*. Dr. Keith has also written on *Indian Mythology*, which has been published as Vol. VI of the *Mythology of All Races*. His *Sanskrit Drama and History of Sanskrit Literature* are classics on the topics.

It is rarely that we come across such intellectual giants with phenomenal energy and output, who are equally adept in such divergent subjects as Sanskrit and Constitutional Law. Dr. Keith's death has created a void and it will be very difficult to find a suitable scholar to take up Dr. Keith's place.

May his soul rest in peace!

A. D. P.

ABHIMANYU-UPĀKHYĀNA AND THE UNKNOWN EPISODE RE: ABHIMANYU'S PREVIOUS LIFE

By Dr. M. R. MAJMUDAR

The *Mahābhārata* has been studied from many points of view; Linguistic, historical, geographical and philosophical; and much learning has been brought to bear upon this great subject. It is also equally important to attempt to trace the growth and development of the legends and themes which have gone to the making of the great epic. If it were possible to sift out from the huge mass of Indian Epic poetry, as we now possess it in the various recensions of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, those old stories and legends which must have been living for a long time in the mouth of the people before they were collected, enlarged and dressed up by later hands, a rich mine of information would be opened for the ancient times of India. The various recensions of the text of *Mahābhārata* are usually those that are handed down to us with interpolations and additions which smell of local colouring and betray some sort of regional folklore.

The object of this paper is to introduce the episode of Abhimanyu existing in the form of an *Upākhyāna*. Though this cannot be traced to the original corpus of the *Mahābhārata*¹ it is however found to be widely current in Western India, especially in Gujarāṭa and Rajaputānā. So much so that a Sanskrit Ms. of *Abhimanyu-Upākhyāna* has been traced from the Baroda Oriental Institute collection, extending to 20 *adhyāyas* with about 1100 *anuṣṭub* verses. (No. 9078)

The episode about Abhimanyu's previous birth as a demon is neither traceable to the original Droṇa parva nor to the vernacular recensions of the *Mahābhārata* either in Marāṭhi, Hindi or Bengālī. However, it is successively referred to in Gujarāṭī *Ākhyānas* about Abhimanyu, from early 13th century A. D., down to the middle of the 19th century A. D. Could the episode be ascribed to Jaimini's version of the *Mahābhārata*, which indulges in many additions of legends and folklore as is in evidence in his extant *Āśvamedhika Parva*? No other *Parvas* of the *Mahābhārata* by Jaimini have, however, been traced so far. The late D. B. K. H. Dhruva had mentioned to have come across a Ms. of *Svargārohaṇa Parva* by Jaimini. If by chance, his *Droṇa Parva* were to come to light we may expect to find some reference to the previous birth-episode of Abhimanyu.

The episode owes its creation to a rare sense of poetic justice as we feel at the end of the poem that after all, it was good that the demon in Abhimanyu after having been turned to good account by getting several leaders of the enemy's camp, killed at his hands ultimately was not allowed to live, grow strong and be a menace to the Pāṇḍava party. While borrowing the plot of the main incident from the *Mahābhārata* the author of the *Abhimanyu Upākhyāna* faithfully adheres to the dogma of incarnation and the Vaiṣṇava cult inseparably worked up in the original. Agreeably to this, Viṣṇu born as Kṛṣṇa destroys the enemical Demon in open fight. His son Ayalocana, however, is not so fairly dealt with. Kṛṣṇa kills him, not in a battle; for that could free him from re-birth. But he was destined to fight the unrighteous Kauravas, and work havoc among them as Abhimanyu. So the incarnate God plays the crafty man, and getting the giant into an adamant chest stifles him to death. The murdered Ayalocana is reborn as Kṛṣṇa's nephew. So the latter brings about his death secretly in a way known to him only.

The personality of Kṛṣṇa whether working openly or secretly, is always before us, throughout the poem, though it is less in evidence than that of Abhimanyu who is technically the

¹ "There is no reference to the story anywhere in the whole of the *Mahābhārata*. No Ms. of *Droṇaparva* shows any reference to the story in question. Abhimanyu is consistently called Varcas, Son of Soma, who finally goes to his father."

From a letter dated 16-11-43 of Prof. P. K. Gode, Curator B. O. R. I. Poona in consultation with the Supervisor of the *Mahābhārata* Department.

hero. As a matter of fact, the only characters that interest us strongly are Abhimanyu and Kṛṣṇa. Next to them come the princess Uttarā and queen Subhadrā. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* reveal Kṛṣṇa to us as a man, certainly not eminently good, but a crafty chief who is not overscrupulous in his choice of means for accomplishing his ends.¹

According to *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, chapter 221, Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna by Subhadrā, was the Somaputra Varcas in his previous birth. From the day of his birth he was found to be dauntless, arousing fear in others, and of an irritable disposition. Brahmā had ordered all the Devas to be born in this world in Aṇśa form in order to free the earth from all fear. At that time Soma (the moon) while deputing his dearest son Varcas to this world had declared tāt he will not be able to brook the separation of his darling for a very long time. Accordingly he had stipulated that Varcas shall return after a life of 16 years only.² (Ādi, Adh. 67) In the *Mahābhārata* fight, Droṇa had managed to engage Arjuna against the Samsāptaka force, in order that the other Pāṇḍavas can be defeated in no time. At this juncture, Droṇa manoeuvred the Kaurava forces in the celebrated Cakru-vyūha form. Yudhiṣṭhira was at his wits' end, as he could not find out a competent man to be in command, who could pierce through the Cakravyūha. The gallant Abhimanyu came to his rescue, depending on all further help from the powerful Bhima, as he only knew the way of ingress. Abhimanyu, however, boldly enough, created a breach in the hostile ranks, and gave a brave front to the veteran generals of the Kaurava forces ; but in the heat of his onward rush, Bhima whose march was checked by Jayadratha had been led away from him. Thus Abhimanyu was left alone to his fate to fight single-handed against the galaxy of tried generals. Abhimanyu, however, showed the excellent stuff he was made up of ; but being fatigued and wounded, was slain by the son of Duhśāsana (Droṇa Adh. 34-39). He was dearest both to Kṛṣṇa and to Balarāma. He left Uttarā the daughter of Virāṭarāja with an embryo, who was born as Parikṣit the only living remnant of both the Kaurava and the Pāṇḍava families at the end of the Mahābhārata war.

The *Mahābhārata* narrative of Abhimanyu's worldly career, as noticed above in short, leaves one mourning at the sad lot of Abhimanyu, who met with rather an untimely, though glorious death under exasperating circumstances. One would have wished Bhima to be beside him in his forward march, and help him to get out successfully of the Cakravyūha at the end of the fight, during the absence of Arjuna, the most powerful of all the Pāṇḍavas. But as ill-luck could have it, Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā, Arjuna, and Uttarā were left in deep mourning by Abhimanyu !

The unknown author of the independent poem-Upākhyāna has, however, tacked the story on the original source of the incident which occurs in the Droṇa Parva of the *Mahābhārata* in order to arouse confidence and reverence for it in the heart of his readers. He has accordingly not preferred to call it an independent poem, but has arranged it in the usual form of a dialogue between the king Janmejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu and the sage Vaiśampāyana. The unknown author of the Upākhyāna occasionally mentions the river Sābhramatī (modern Sābarmatī) in the benedictory verses, which help us to locate the composition of the episode, somewhere in Central Gujārāṭa. The copy that is available to us is not even a century old ; however, it must have been copied from some other original. Because it will be too much to imagine that somebody might have narrated the episode in Sanskrit from some Vernacular source. The style of the Upākhyāna is simple, racy and very much reminiscent of the great epic. The contents of each of the twenty adhyāyas of the Upākhyāna can be gathered from the short titles given at the end.

The story, in brief, of the epilogue linking up the birth of Abhimanyu with his previous birth is as follows:—

Child Ayalocana while playing with little children was tormenting and beating them. One boy, being very much ill-treated one day gave him a taunt. "Why do you torment us ? If you are very strong, why not avenge your father's death ?" At this, Ayalocana ran to his mother and entreated her to tell everything about his father and his ultimate end. The mother most

¹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*-Vol. 7, pp. 193-197 ; Prof. Jacobi's article on Incarnation (Indian)

² " In the Mbh. heroic genealogy, Varcas, part of Soma becomes Abhimanyu (lives 16 years, corresponding to the 16 days of the bright moon)"—Section on *Soma* in the *Epic Mythology* by E. W. Hopkins, p. 91 (1915)

unwillingly narrated how Viṣṇu killed the boy's father in an open fight, putting his capital to fire, at which she had to make good her escape to her father's house when the boy was in her womb. The posthumously born Ayalocana on hearing this, there and then took a vow to avenge his father's death. The mother dissuaded him from such a rash undertaking; as she said, hostilities with powerful Kṛṣṇa who had killed powerful Kaṁsa and Śiupāla, would be of no avail. The boy, however, persisted, to whom the mother ultimately advised to appease God Śiva, who would bestow him with great prowess. Ayalocana went to a solitary place, practised penance and succeeded after six months in pleasing Śiva to grant, a boon. When asked as to what his desire was, the boy begged of Śiva to be made immortal. And Śiva would have granted him this boon unwittingly, had Pārvatī not intervened. So Śiva checked himself and told him; "I know what is in your mind; you want to fight Viṣṇu. You will not be hurt by any weapon; and your death will happen without any thrust of a weapon." Ayalocana jumped in joy at this boon, believing that he would not be defeated in any fight, and would meet death in the normal course. Ayalocana got a big iron-clad chest prepared at the hands of Maya, the architect of the Daityas, who took six months to prepare it. With that Vajra-pañjara (iron-chest) Ayalocana started for Dwārakā to fight Kṛṣṇa and then, seizing him, to stifle him to death by putting him in the chest. Kṛṣṇa having known this, met the boy on way in the form of an old Brahmin, crying. The boy, on inquiry was pleased to identify him as his family-preceptor, who was mourning the loss of his Yajamāna, the boy's father. The old man asked the boy, about his plans to avenge his father's death. The boy, being off his guard at the sympathising words of the old man, confided the whole thing to him and told him that the chest was meant for Kṛṣṇa. The old man, then advised Ayalocana to ascertain if Kṛṣṇa would be contained in it. At this, the boy requested him further to tell the dimensions of Kṛṣṇa. The crafty old man assured him that Kṛṣṇa was slender and tiny, if the boy could get in the chest, then Kṛṣṇa would surely be contained. A trial of this was then suggested and when Ayalocana got in the chest, Kṛṣṇa in the guise of the old man, shut the door tight, to the utter dismay and embarrassment of Ayalocana. When after many entreaties the old man would not open the door of the chest, Ayalocana felt that some fraud was being perpetrated on him. But, then, it was too late to mend. Ayalocana made great efforts to break open the chest through sheer force; the chest was lifted to the sky and came down with a crash, but to no effect. He was gasping for breath and was soon stifled to death. Kṛṣṇa then arranged to carry the chest to his residence, and placed it secretly under Subhadra's care. The wives of Śrī Kṛṣṇa out of sheer curiosity wanted the secret to be divulged as to the content of the chest. Subhadra, who was then carrying, was prevailed upon by Satyabhāmā, Rukmiṇī and others to open and to have a look at it for a while. When the door was opened, they were shocked to see a dead body with eyes and mouth wide open. But the ghost of Ayalocana that was hovering round the body got in through Subhadra's mouth, planning great mischief to Kṛṣṇa through his sister Subhadra. After everything was arranged as before in the chest, and all had left, Subhadra got such acute pain in the stomach that Kṛṣṇa had to be informed of it. Kṛṣṇa got the whole story about the opening of the chest; and was constrained to attribute the pain to that incident. The demon was seeking a chance to wreak his doubled vengeance. The demon prevented the birth of the embryo, causing much pain. Subhadra had to be humoured in this predicament by telling her the story about the magical spiral array. Subhadra felt a bit relieved by the narration and fell asleep, when the demon in the womb, wanting to know the complete secret about the ingress and egress of the Cakravayūha, began to give a sound, showing that the story was followed by her. Kṛṣṇa noticing a change in the tone of the sound, found that Subhadra was fast asleep and that the sound was coming from the womb. Kṛṣṇa then cut short the narrative and left the place. The demon then thought fit to be born, thereafter known as Abhimanyu, whose partial knowledge of breaking the spiral array was going to be of great help to the Pāṇḍavas' army in the absence of Arjuna.

Such is the interesting epilogue of the Abhimanyu-Upākhyāna which leads the reader to believe that it was after all well-destined by God that Abhimanyu could not survive the Mahābhārata war; because in that case, he would not have missed to wreak vengeance on Kṛṣṇa.

The story contained in the Upākhyāna, coming as it does from Western India, is very popular in Gujarāṭī literature. So much so that it has been handed down to us in succession, with slight additions. All the poets who have written about Abhimanyu,—Dehala (early 15th century, Nākara (16th century), Tāpidāsa (mid 17th century), Premānanda (late 17th century), Lajjārāma (late 18th century) and Revāsāṅkara (late 19th century)—have drawn upon the Sanskrit episode as

their main stay, the value of their individual performance varying with each poet's diction, fancy and imagination. A remarkable quantity of Gujarāṭi folk-songs, ballads and dirges by unknown authors are also met with, dealing with one or the other incident from the story, reminiscent of the Sanskrit original. These folk songs are collected in an Appendix to my critical edition of Tāpīdāsa's Abhimanyu ākhyāna, published in 1925.

An attempt is made in the following paragraphs to give an idea as to how a classical Gujarāṭi author has treated the story. Premānanda's 'Abhimanyu Ākhyāna' is a heroic poem in 54 cantos. It opens with a very brief sketch by Vaiṣampāyana relating to Janamejaya, how Abhimanyu was slain in his gallant attempt to break the so-called spiral array (*Cakravayha*) of the Kauravās. The royal listener could not understand why the Almighty Kṛṣṇa let his nephew die so sad and untimely a death.

This gives the poet an occasion to give at full length the account of the previous birth of Abhimanyu as Ahilocana ('Ayalocana' of the Sanskrit episode). The episode takes up cantos 2-13, and forms the most interesting section of the poem. Cantos 14-33 narrate the birth of Abhimanyu; his marriage with the Matsya princess Uttarā, and its consummation on the eve of the battle. Then comes the description charging the Kaurava army arrayed in the form of an intricate maze of seven curves. He successfully fought his way through six of them. But in his attempt to force the seventh curvilinear array he was overpowered and killed by six Kaurava leaders, nefariously conspiring to entrap him. Cantos 34-45 are occupied with the narration of the gallant fighting. In the remaining cantos, the poet tells us how his death was bitterly avenged.

Such is the summary of the stirring narrative as utilised by Premānanda. It naturally divides itself into five parts. First comes the introduction. It is followed by the episode of Ayalocana. Then there is the intermediary section, bringing up the narrative to Abhimanyu's march to fight the Kauravas. The succeeding section describes the combat of Abhimanyu and his death. The poem concludes with an account of the terrible retribution and revenge. Of these five sections, the first is very cleverly executed. While preparing the audience for the episode of Ayalocana, it reminds us of the prelude (*Prastāvanā*) in the Sanskrit drama. One may even go farther and say that it forms the key to the whole poem as conceived by the unknown author of this episode. Though apparently Abhimanyu is made the hero of the Ākhyāna, behind him looms large the figure of Kṛṣṇa as God incarnate, directing the destinies of the world in the best interests of the righteous. This second section is a prologue of the poem proper. But the story of Ahilocana is not a mere episode that can conveniently be dropped. The original author of this story, whoever he might have been, has artistically made it an integral part of the narrative. The third section in Premānanda's poem, in spite of the many beautiful passages which it contains, is confessedly out of harmony with the prevailing *Vīra* sentiment which characterises the 2nd and the 4th sections. The celebration of the pregnancy of Subhadrā and the marriage of Abhimanyu are topics which the poet would have done well not to indulge in at great length. The fourth section is more descriptive than dramatic. Had the poet unstintedly treated us with the spirited speeches of combatants rather than with the conventional commonplace description of the combatants, we should have as much relished them as we do Homer's. The fifth section forms an epilogue to the poem, and as such, it is necessarily brief.

The prevalence of the traditional episode regarding Abhimanyu's previous birth in several Gujarāṭi versions from Western India need not be further dilated upon. The discovery of this material is, however, likely to be useful at a time when the critical edition of the Droṇa Parva is yet to be taken on hand.¹ Its interest for the folklorist is also unforgettable.

¹ Dr. S. K. De who has undertaken to edit the Droṇa Parva, under the auspices of the Committee for the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, informs me that he has not so far come across the incident about Abhimanyu's previous birth in any of the Mss. of the Droṇa Parva.

NOTE ON MAIHAR

By Prof. A. H. NIZAMI

Traditions regarding the Baghela period of Maihar history are scanty and confused. Even the genealogies have been incorrectly recorded. According to one tradition Maihar was conquered by Maharaja Bhaida Deva (a contemporary of Bahlöl and Sikandar Lōdi) who laid the foundations of the fort in Samvat 1514. But we know that Maihar was one of the ashtakōṭ of the Candels of Mahōbā and Kālinjar, and formed the boundary between their dominions and those of the Kalacurīs of Tripuri. According to the *Virabīṇūdāya*, Vira Sinha (a contemporary of Bābar), the greatest ruler of the Baghela dynasty of Rewa, had two sons from his wife, Sukumāra Devī. The elder, Vira Bhānu (a contemporary of Humā-yūn), succeeded him to the throne while the younger, Yāmini Bhānu (popularly Jamunī Bhān) is said to have got, in Samvat 1558, Maihar and Sohāgpur as his Jāgīr consisting of 1500 villages. But he does not seem to have held possession of the grant during the rule of his brother. In the time of Mahārājā Rām Candra, who lived in the time of Akbar, the estate was partitioned among the sons of Jamunī Bhān—Udai Bhānu getting Maihar and Pratāp Rudra getting Sohāgpur, the shares comprising of 750 villages each. When the fort of Bāndhōgarh was besieged and taken by Rājā Patra Dās, a Mansabdār of Akbar Bādshāh, in the year 1593 A.C., the family of Jamunī Bhān seems to have been in command of the defence, for a song is current among the womenfolk of the Bāndhōgarh region in which Jamunī Bhānu is cursed for the loss of the Fort to the Turks. But Jamunī Bhānu himself could not have been alive at that time as may be inferred from a passage in the *Vira Bhadrā Campū*, a Sanskrit work written by Padmanābha Mīra in Samvat 1643 (A.C. 1568), which incidentally refers to Jamunī Bhān in the past tense and then gives the names of his sons and grandsons, living at the time. We do not hear of Maihar again till the rise of the Bundelas under Mahārājā Chatra Sāl when Maihar was lost by the family of Jamunī Bhān and annexed to Bundelkhand. With the extinction of Baghela power in Maihar the traditions of Baghela rule have gradually fallen into oblivion. The records of Rewa are silent on the point and the family bards do not help us much. We can, however, gather some information from Bundela sources supplemented by Persian historians.

Maihar seems to have been invaded by the Bundelas twice. About the year 1671 A.C. (Samvat 1728) Chatra Sāl besieged the fort of Maihar under his personal command (*Chatra Prakāśa*, Canto 13). The ruler of Maihar is then said to have been a minor—only twelve years old, and the Queen-mother was managing the affairs of the state as regent. The fort fell after a siege of 12 days and the Queen-Regent agreed to pay tribute to the Bundela invader. If this account given by a modern biographer of Chatra Sāl (*Bundelkhand Kēsari* by Kunwar Kanhaiyā Jū) is correct, the child-prince of Maihar could have been no other than Samar Singh, the successor of Kirti Sinha in the genealogies. The date of the siege of Maihar (1671-72 A.C.) also helps us to surmise the death of Kirti Sinha which may be put down roughly between the years 1660 and 1671-72 A.C.

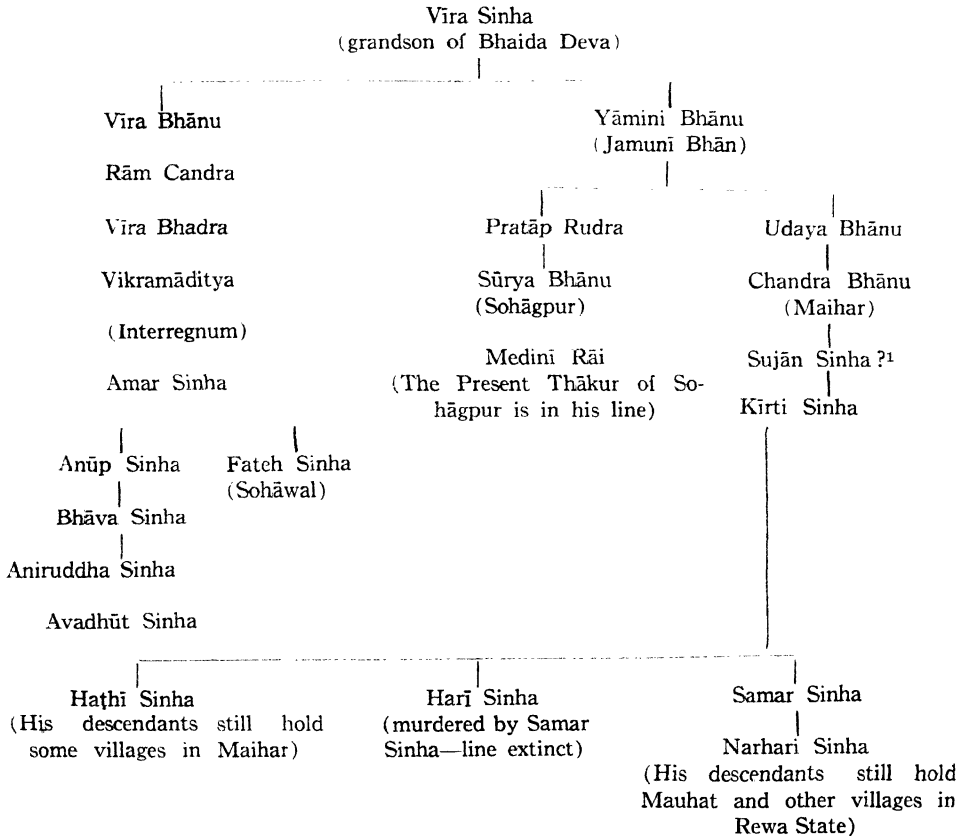
The other known date of Kirti Sinha is 1649 A.C. (Samvat 1705), being the date of the contemporary manuscript of Bhānujī Dikṣita's *Vyākhyāsudhā* composed by order of Kirti Sinha. It is difficult at the present state of our information to determine the date of Kirti Sinha's accession.

The next invasion of the Bundelas against Maihar was led by Hirde Sāh in Samvat 1764 (soon after the death of Aurangzeb?) when Avadhūt Sinha, a minor, was on the throne of Rewa and no successor could be forthcoming from that quarter. The immediate cause of invasion was this. Kirti Sinha had three sons. The youngest, Hathi Sinha held the village of Jūrā and his descendants are still in possession of the holding in Maihar State. The other

son Hari Sinha, who got Bhainwāhī as his share, had married a daughter of Mahārājā Chatra Sāl of Pannā against the wishes of the eldest brother, Samar Sinha, the Thākur of Maihar, and against the family custom of the Baghelas. Samar Sinha, therefore, brought about his murder and the new bride, the Bundela princess, became Sati (Samvat 1764). The line of Hari Sinha most probably became extinct. As a result of the fighting Samar Sinha of Maihar was killed and Maihar was annexed to the dominions of Chatra Sāl of Pannā (Bundelkhand). The family of Samar Sinha (Narhari Sinha has been recorded as his son) migrated to and obtained shelter under the ruler of Rewa where they still hold certain villages including Mauhat near Amarpatan in the Raghurājnagar Tahsil of Rewa State.

From the Bundelas of Panna, Maihar passed to the present ruling family who are the descendants of Benī Hazūrī, the trusted general of Mahārājā Hindūpat of Pannā. After Durjan Sinha, the State of Maihar was partitioned between his two sons Bishun Sinha and Prāgdās, the latter's share being Parganā Bijairāghōgarh. Sarjū Prasad, son of Prāgdās, rebelled in 1857 and Bijairāghōgarh was confiscated by the British government and now forms part of the Murwārā Tahsil of the Jubbulpore district in the Central Provinces. Thus the present Maihar State on the map is only half of its original size as held by the last Baghel ruler, Samar Sinha, the successor of Kīrti Sinha, the patron of Bhānuji.

GENEALOGY OF THE BAGHELAS OF MAIHAR



¹ In one genealogy Sujān Sinha is put down as brother of Kīrti Sinha, and not his immediate predecessor on the throne.

SOME PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND MANNERS MENTIONED AS DURĀCĀRAS BY VARADARĀJA (A PUPIL OF BHATTOJI DĪKṢITA) – (C. A. D. 1600 – 1660)

By Prof. P. K. GODE.

Varadarāja¹, a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita lived between A. D. 1600 and 1660. In his work called the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*, which is a sort of conversational grammar for Sanskrit there is a discourse on the *durācāras* or evil practices current in the different provinces of India. The text of this discourse as found in MS 395 of 1899-1915 of this work in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, reads as follows :—

Folio 14—Here there is a dialogue after dinner between a Benares Brahmin² and his Sanyāsi guest³.

The Sanyāsi asks his host :—

“भवतां देशे रजस्वलापक्रौदनः ब्राह्मणैः भुज्यते किल सत्यं वा ।”

The host replies :—“स्वामिनः न भुज्यते समीचीनैः”

Sanyāsi :—“तर्हि असमीचीनैः भुज्यते वा”

Host :—“धर्कटैः । अप्रामाणिकैश्च । हलवाहकैः रजस्वलापक्रौदनः भुज्यते”

Sanyāsi :—“तैः सह संबन्धो वर्तते न वा सत्यं वदंतु । यदि मिथ्या वदथ भवतां परलोको नश्यति ।”

Host :—“स्वामिनः । कस्मिन्देशे एवं चेत् । दुराचाराः न संति सर्वत्र दुराचाराः संत्येव । तथाहि ।

D* (1) दक्षिणदेशे कलौ मातुलकन्यावरणं दुराचारः

D (2) दक्षिणात्येषु वर्षचतुष्टयात्प्राक् कन्यायाः विवाहः दुराचारः ।

D (3) आन्ध्रदेशे हलवहं दुराचारः ।

D (4) कर्नाटके देशे स्नानं विना भोजनं दुराचारः ।

(5) माहाराष्ट्रे उच्छिष्टभक्षणं ज्येष्ठं परित्यज्य कनिष्ठस्य विवाहकरणं क्वचित्सौकर्यवशाच्च दुराचारः ।

D (6) द्रविडकेरलदेशयोः सर्वेषां कुचप्रदर्शनं दुराचारः ।

D (7) केरलदेशे उपरिसुरतं दुराचारः ।

D (8) कोंकणे वृक्षारोहणं दुराचारः ।

D (9) गुर्जरदेशे च मेदिकपानं तृतीयदिने रजस्वलास्नानं च दुराचारः ।

D (10) उत्तरदेशे कलौ मांसभक्षणं दुराचारः ।

D (11) पर्वतदेशे क्वचित्कलौ देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिर्दुराचारः ।

D (12) मैथिलगौडदेशे सदा तैललेपनं दुराचारः ।

D (13) गौडदेशे वेदत्यागो दुराचारः ।

¹ Vide my paper on Varadarāja in *Festschrift P. V. Kane*, pp. 188-199.

² The name of this Brahmin as introduced in the work on folio 3 is “अलर्पि पुण्य खज-कृत्पुंरंदर गरुडध्वज वाजपेयी.” In the subsequent portion of the text he is briefly reported as वाजपेयी from कान्यकुब्ज of मध्यदेश (fol. 12).

³ He is represented as belonging to विद्यानगर (fol. 4) as a householder (“अस्माकं पूर्वश्रमे विद्यानगरं”). He gives a long list of the wealth of Vidyānagara (= Vijayanagar), its economic and other products, its flora, its lakes and rivers, its holy places (*īrthas*) etc.

* D indicates that this *durācāra* has been mentioned by Dhundirāja in his गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी a later work.

- D (14) कान्यकुब्जदेशे पण्यघृतपक्वभक्षणं विवाहादौ भोजनसमये परस्परस्पर्शनं दुराचारः ।
 (15) उत्कले सुखे¹ सुखे सुरते दुराचारः ।
 D (16) गौडद्राविडकेरलउत्कलेषु पक्वफलमत्तंडुलौदनभोजनं दुराचारः ।
 D (17) सर्वेषां देशे पथि तांबूलभक्षणं दुराचारः ।”
 Guest (sanyāsi)— “अति समीचीनं जातं । अतःपरं मया मटे गंतव्यमनुष्ठानकालो जातः ।”

The above dialogue between a *vājapeyī* of Kānyakubja and a *Sanyāsi* who formerly belonged to Vidyānagara (Vijayanagar), though introduced for providing some theme for conversation in Sanskrit, possesses some historical and cultural interest. It may, therefore, be rendered into English² as follows :—

(*Vājapeyī*) = V and *Sanyāsi* = S)

S—Is it a fact that in your country (or province) viz. Kānyakubja in Madhyadeśa the Brahmins eat rice cooked by women in menses?

V—Sir, good persons don't eat it.

S—May I take it that bad persons eat it?

V—Rice cooked by women in menses is eaten by *dharkṣa* (?) people, by dishonest people and by ploughmen.

S—Do women in menses keep (sexual) contact with these people? Please tell me the truth. If you tell me a falsehood you will not get heaven.

V—Sir, what country is free from such evil practices? The evil customs are found everywhere, for instance—

- (1) In the Southern country the practice of marrying a maternal uncle's daughter³ as it prevails in the Kali age may be considered an evil practice (*durūcāra*).
- (2) Among the *Southerners* the practice of getting one's daughter married before she had completed her fourth year⁴ is an evil practice.
- (3) In the *Āndhradeśa* or the country of *Āndhras* *halavahan*⁵ (the practice of carrying a plough) is current. It is an evil practice.

¹ This is possibly a misreading for “सुखे” Cf. *Mahābhārata* Bombay Edition, 3. 188 41 (= B. O. R. I. Critical Edition 3-186-35)

—“ बहुप्रजा द्रुस्वदेहाः शीलाचारविवर्जिताः ।

सुखेभगाः स्त्रियो राजन्मविष्यन्ति युगक्षये ”

Nilakanṭha explains :— “सुखे भगाः स्त्रियो वक्ष्ये प्रसिद्धाः । प्रथमं सुखेनैवं भगवत्यै कृत्वा पुरुषस्य काममुदीपयन्त्यः । अत्यन्तं रतार्थत्वात् ” (Vide p. 169 of *Sukthankar Memorial Edition*, Vol. I, 1944)

² In giving this English rendering I may have missed the exact significance of the original text at certain places owing to my ignorance of the social life of the different provinces of India as it existed in the 17th century or as it exists today. It would be useful to collect data regarding the practices recorded by Varadarāja from other contemporary sources.

³ Vide p. 459 of Kane (*Hist. of Dh. II*). “Marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter was in vogue in the south (below the Narmadā probably) long before the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* (i.e. several centuries before the Christian Era) and that North India did not go in for such marriages and that orthodox *Sūtra* writers like *Gautama* and *Baudhāyana* reprobated such practices. *Mānu* forbids such marriages (XI, 172-173).

⁴ Vide Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* II, p. 445 (Early marriage for girls). The rule that Brāhmaṇa girls were to be married between 8 to 10 years became general from about the 6th or 7th century A.D. and continued to modern times. *Marici* (Quoted in *Parāśara Smṛti* I, 2 p. 177) said that choosing a bride who was five years old was best (“जन्मतो गर्भाधानाद्वा पञ्चमाद्वात्परं शुभम् । कुमारीवरणं दानं मेखला बन्धनं तथा ॥”)

⁵ Evidently *agriculture* as an occupation for Brāhmaṇas about which there are conflicting views. (Vide Kane *H. D. II*, 125) The Vedic literature does not condemn agriculture. Kane discusses several views showing how *agriculture* was viewed at different times by different writers, from different points of view. *Baudhāyana* (I, 5, 101) states :—“वेदः कृषिविनाशाय कृषिवेदविनाशिनी । शक्तिमानुभयं कुर्यादशक्तस्तु कृषिं त्यजेत्” *Hārta* declares “the plough-share carries with it destruction of life, therefore it is not for Brāhmaṇas etc. (सहसूनं लाङ्गलं तद् ब्राह्मणे न विद्यते etc.). Evidently Varadarāja records the practice of agriculture by the *Āndhra* Brahmins which was not approved of by some people.

- (4) The practice of taking one's meals without a bath current in the *Karnāṭaka* country is an evil practice.
- (5) In the *Mahārāṣṭra* the following practices are current :—
 - (i) Eating the leavings of another man's food.
 - (ii) Celebrating the marriage of a younger member of the family before that of the elder one on the ground of practical convenience.
 These are, however, improper practices.
- (6) The practice of leaving the breasts uncovered¹ current among the ladies of the *Draviḍa* and *Kerala* countries is an evil practice.
- (7) The mode of sexual enjoyment called the *upari-surata*² current in the country of *Kerala* is an evil practice.
- (8) The practice of climbing the trees current in *Konkan*³ is an evil practice.
- (9) The following practices current in Gujarat are evil practices :—
 - (i) Drinking liquor (*Medika* = *Madaka* = liquor used for distillation)
 - (ii) Women in menses taking a bath on the third day of the menstrual period.
- (10) The practice of eating flesh⁴ current in the Northern country in the Kali age is an evil practice.
- (11) The practice occasionally resorted to by the people of the *Parvata* country, allowing the begetting of sons on a woman by her husband's brother, is an evil custom⁵.
- (12) The practice of constant smearing of one's body with oil current in *Maithila* and *Gauḍa* countries is an evil custom.
- (13) Abandonment of the Vedas current in the *Gauḍa* deśa is an evil custom.

¹ Vide p 385 of C. V. Vaidya's *Mahābhārata-Upasamhāra*, Poona 1922. Mr. Vaidya thinks that the practice of wearing a bodice was not current during the Mahābhārata period. Even now the Madras women go without a bodice. Compare Rāmeśvara's remark in this connection in his commentary (A.D. 1831) on परशुरामकल्पसूत्र (G. O. Series, Baroda, 1923) p. 41.

“दृश्यते चाधुनिकानां शास्त्रविद्वानामाचाराणां प्रामाण्यं पूर्वमीमांसाविदामपि, यथा आन्ध्रानां मातुल-
कन्यापरिणयः । तथा द्राविडसुवासिनीषु कञ्चुकधारणाभावः । सकञ्चुकयति दृष्ट्वाऽकञ्चुकसुवासिनीम् । सकेशां
विधवां दृष्ट्वा सचेत्स्नानमाचरेत् ॥ इति अङ्गिरसवचनविद्वद्वः । अतो न किञ्चिद्वाधकम् ।”

² *Upari-Surata* may be the *uparītaka* mode (also called *विपरीतक*) which is described in the *Sa'da Kalpadruma* as follows :—

“ऊराविक्रपदं कृत्वा द्वितीयं स्कंधसंस्थितं ।

नारी कामयते कामी बन्धः स्याद्विपरीतकः ॥” (Vide *Apte's Dictionary* 1890, p. 320).

Apte states that this mode is “also called *विपरीतक*” Damodara Gupta [in his *Kuṭṭanimata* (C. 775 A. D.) Stanza 575] refers to *विपरीतरत* but Mr. Tripathi, the Editor, equates *विपरीतरत* with *पुरुषायित* (“*पुरुषोचितकर्म पुरुषायितं विपरीतरतम्*”). The *Kāmasūtra* (p. 162 of N. S. Press, Edn. 1900) refers to *विपरीतम्* as follows :—“तदेव *विपरीतं* सरभसमवमर्दनम्”

³ As a native of Konkan (Sangameshwar Taluka of Ratnagiri District) I can vouch the correctness of this observation. The Konkan abounds in tall fruit trees like the mango, the jack, the betelnut tree, the cocoanut tree etc. Not only children and men but also women are in the habit of climbing the trees for gathering fruit on which they live in certain seasons. Of course people with pendulous bellies can never dream of climbing up a tall tree and for them this Konkan practice is certainly a *durācāra*, a dangerous practice.

⁴ Cf. Trivikrama (C. A.D. 915) in his *Nalacampa* (1885-N. S. P. Bombay) p. 251 (7th *Ucchāsa*) :—Description of marriage dinner given to the army—“अहो नु खल्वमी मत्स्यमासै-
र्विरहितमुदीच्यप्रतीच्यप्राच्यजनाः प्रियसक्तवोः भोक्तुमेव न जानन्ति । विरलः खलु दाक्षिणात्येषु
मांसाशनव्यवहारः । तदाकर्ण्यतां भोः नैषधः etc”. The army was served with शाल्योदन, शिखरिणि,
शाकानि, इक्षुरस etc. a purely vegetarian menu much to the chagrin of Northerners.

⁵ This custom is identical with the *Niyoga* of the *Dharmaśāstra* texts. Mr. C. V. Vaidya thinks that the *Niyoga* was current in India among the Āryans in very ancient times but it was not current in the *Mahābhārata* times (Vide pp. 314-316 of *Mbh. Upasamhāra* Poona, 1922). We must identify *Parvatadeśa* where the practice was occasionally observed according to Varadarāja. Kane in his *Hist. of Dh.* II, Chap. XIII on *Niyoga* states (p. 607)—*Niyoga* was a survival from the remote past.....gradually it became rarer and rarer till in the first centuries of the Christian era it came to be totally prohibited. In view of this statement we must see if the currency of *Niyoga* in *Parvatadeśa* as stated by Varadarāja as late as C. A.D. 1630 is corroborated by other contemporary evidence.

- (14) The following practices current among the people of the *Kānyakulja* country are evil practices :—
- (i) Eating food cooked in ghee purchased in the market.
 - (ii) Touching each other at the time of marriage and other feasts.
- (15) The *mukha-surata* mode of sexual enjoyment current in the *Utkala* country is an evil practice.
- (16) In the *Gauḍa*, *Drāviḍa*, *Kerala* and *Utkala* countries the people eat cooked rice prepared from the un-husked grains of the *Kalama* rice ripened in the field.
- (17) The practice of eating *tāmbūla* (betel-nut) in the street current in all provinces is an evil practice.

The foregoing list of evil practices (or *durācāras*) recorded by Varadarāja, a pupil of the great grammarian Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, will be found useful by all students of the history of Indian customs and manners as they prevailed in different centuries. Varadarāja, though a southerner, had settled at Benares and there studied under Bhaṭṭoji like many other southerners. Benares was the centre of learning for many centuries where people from all parts of India gathered together and carried on their literary pursuits. In the social concourse of these learned preceptors and their pupils occasional discussions on the provincial customs and manners must have taken place and the present list of *durācāras* as given to us incidentally by Varadarāja may be taken to be a summary of such discussions incorporated in the *Gīrvāṇapadamāñjarī* for literary embellishment. If we value the accounts of our manners and customs recorded by foreign travellers from the earliest to the last for the reconstruction of the history of our culture, we have every reason to value Varadarāja's list of *durācāras* or evil practices so called. These practices were obviously current in the different provinces of India in the 17th century. Even to the modern taste all these practices are not evil practices. To Varadarāja also they did not appear as *durācāras* as will be seen from the remark of the Brahmin host in the dialogue: “सर्वत्र दुराचाराः संति एव”. Every social group has its own manners and customs. It is generally the outsiders that have a tendency to criticize the customs and manners of groups other than their own. To a student of Indian history and culture all these manners and customs as also their criticism recorded in literature, whether contemporary or subsequent, are very valuable as they give him a better *terra firma* to stand upon and cast his glance towards the past than the mere imaginary accounts of our ancient culture which at times fill the pages of our histories without any substratum of facts.

The entire body of the *dharmaśāstra* literature though a reflection of Hindu customs and manners current at different periods of the evolution of Hindu Society, cannot prove the existence of certain customs and manners in specific periods of history as the tendency of the writers of the works on *dharmaśāstra* is to quote previous works on the subject to justify or condemn certain customs and manners. We cannot, therefore, say definitely from the statements of these works if these customs or manners were all of them actually current in society when these works were composed. For a correct history of these customs we must collect the testimonia of foreign and Indian observers who may have incidentally or purposely left some accounts of these customs. Such testimonia are very useful correctives to the rosy pictures of our culture drawn sometimes on the strength of a few statements from *dharmaśāstra* works gathered at random by amateurs in Indology.

Not having travelled in different parts of India I am unable to verify if any of the *durācāras* mentioned by Varadarāja are now current in the specific provinces mentioned by him I must, therefore, leave this work of verification to my readers in these provinces. Varadarāja's work has been imitated by Dhunḍirāja, son of Śrīraṅgabhaṭṭa. He was a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin of the Mādhva sect as I have proved elsewhere.¹ His work also is called the *Gīrvāṇapadamāñjarī*. It was composed sometime after A. D. 1700. Dhunḍirāja has incorporated some new matter in his work, though he has kept the form and style of his work identical with the form and style of Varadarāja's work. Dhunḍirāja's work also contains a list of *durācāras* of different provinces, which I have examined in a separate paper² with a view to see how far he has added to Varadarāja's list or improved upon it in the light of his own experience and knowledge during his stay at Benares towards the close of the 17th century.

¹ Vide my papers on (1) “An Echo of the siege of Jirjī in a Sanskrit Grammatical Work etc.” contributed to the *Indian History Congress, Madras, 1944* and (2) “Glimpses into the Economic Industrial and Social Life of Bengal as given by a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin of the 17th Century” (*Indian Culture, Calcutta*).

² NIA VII, pp. 136-139.

THE MYSTERY OF VIKRAMĀDITYA

By Shri K. G. SANKAR.

~ Vikramāditya is the King Arthur of Indian History. Countless legends have gathered round his name, and he is held up as the ideal king for valour, generosity and tireless quest of adventure. But in strictly historical works, he is mentioned, if at all, only to be dismissed as a myth. The attitude of British historians towards Arthur was similar till recently. But now it is admitted that there was a historical Arthur (Artorius), who led the British chiefs against the Saxon invaders in the battle of Badon (516 A.C.) and died fighting against Medraut in Camlan (537 A.C.), though he was by no means the Emperor of Christendom, as he is alleged to have been in the Arthurian legend. It is time that similar justice were done to Vikrama, and a serious attempt made to sift the nucleus of facts underlying the mass of legends and traditions relating to him.

Vikramāditya was a title adopted by several Guptas of Magadha and Cālukyas of Badami, the earliest of whom was Samudragupta (C. 300 A.C.). But the Vikramāditya of the legends was a King of Ujjain who, if he was historical, must have lived long before Samudragupta. The attempt of modern historians to identify him with Candragupta II or Skandagupta, who were kings of Magadha, or with Yaśodharman, who lived in the 6th Century A.C. and had no such title, must therefore be deemed futile, an attempt based on no tangible evidence.

The mystery of Vikramāditya is not simple. It involves several issues, which must each be considered and decided on its own merits. Was Vikramāditya a historical person? Were there several Vikramas of Ujjain? When did they live? Was any of them the founder of the Vikrama era (57 B.C.)? What is meant by his title Śakāri? What were his or their achievements? Was any of them a *navaratna patron*? Which of them was Kālidāsa's patron? These issues must be kept distinct, though to avoid repetition some of them may have to be dealt with together, as the same data may relate to different issues.

First and foremost is the historicity of Vikramāditya. Was there any such King of Ujjain? The orthodox view, among Indian historians, is that there was no Vikramāditya of Ujjain, and it is based on purely negative evidence, his non-mention on coins and inscriptions. But the title Vikramāditya would not have been adopted by Gupta and Cālukya Kings, if it had not been already made glorious by a historical national hero; and we have positive evidence of his existence. Kalhaṇa (1148 A.C.), the historian of Kashmir, compiled his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* after a careful study of previous chronicles, coins and inscriptions, and, though his chronology is vitiated by an attempt to link the origins of Kashmir history with the Bhārata war (2449 B.C.), his work is to be regarded as an honest, fearless and impartial history, so far as the facts, events and persons mentioned in it are concerned. He is our first witness.

In taraṅga II, Pratāpāditya (168 B.C.), a relative of Vikramāditya, is said to have been invited to become King of Kashmir. We are not told that this Vikrama was King of Ujjain, but in all probability he was such, since Kalhaṇa notes that he was wrongly thought to be the Śakāri by some previous chroniclers. In taraṅga III, 300 years later another Vikramāditya of Ujjain is mentioned as emperor and Śakāri. His personal name was Harṣa. He made poet Mātṛgupta King of Kashmir (119-124 A.C.), and died, when Toramāṇa's son Pravarasena II was marching against him to recover Kashmir. Pravara not only recovered Kashmir, but reinstated Harṣa Vikrama's son Pratāpa-śīla Śilāditya on his father's throne, which had been usurped by strangers. Valour is said to have been rare, except in Vikrama, Śūdraka and Pravara. We are also told that in childhood Pravara was brought up in a potter's house, while his uncle Hiranya was King of Kashmir. All this claims to be sober history, and there is no valid reason to dispute the claim. Kalhaṇa then not only establishes the historicity of Vikramāditya, but there were

two Vikramas of Ujjain, who were confounded with each other. They were separated by an interval of 300 years, and both of them lived before C-300 A.C. But chronology is Kalhaṇa's weak point, and his dates for Vikrama I (168 B.C.) and II (d. 124 A.C.) cannot be accepted as established, without further proof.

The Arabian astronomer Alberuni (1030 A.C.) is our next witness. His *India* is admitted to be one of the most intelligent, critical, unprejudiced and scientific foreign accounts of Indian culture and civilisation, and compares favourably with those of Megasthenes, and Hiuen-Tsang. In his account of the Indian eras, he says that Vikrama (57 B.C.) and Śaka (78 A.C.) eras both claim Vikrama for their founder, and that as there is an interval of 135 years between the two eras, the Vikrama who founded the Śaka era must be different from, perhaps a successor, of the founder of the Vikrama era. Regarding the Śaka era, he says that it commemorates the destruction of a Śaka tyrant by Vikrama at Karur near Multan. Alberuni is only recording the traditions current in his time, and he is not responsible for their accuracy. The question of the eras will be taken up presently. But it may be noted at once that in his time (1030 A.C.) the tradition was that one Vikrama founded the Vikrama era, and a later Vikrama was the Śakāri. This tradition is in substance the same as that recorded by Kalhaṇa, with the difference that the two Vikramas are definitely associated with two of the earliest Hindu eras 57 B.C. and 78 A.C., making the interval between them one of 135 and not 300 years.

But after all Kalhaṇa and Alberuni are comparatively late authorities, and it may be thought desirable to have, if possible, an early authority for the historicity of Vikramāditya. This we have in the *Gāthāsaptasatī* of Hāla, which refers to Vikramāditya's habit of giving away lakhs, to those who pleased him. Bāṇa (C. 620 A.C.) in his *Harṣa Carita* praises the *Kośa*, an anthology of verses compiled by Śātavāhana, which is no doubt the *Saptaśatī* of Hāla Śātavāhana; Hāla was an Āndhra King who ruled over Mahārāṣṭra in the 2nd century A.C., and already in his time the fame of Vikramāditya's generosity had spread beyond the frontiers of his own Kingdom. Dr. Bhandarkar has sought to invalidate this conclusive evidence on the ground that the *Saptaśatī* mentions Tuesday and Rādhikā, without on his part adducing any evidence to prove that these were unknown in the 2nd century A.C. Such an early work as the *Vaikhānasa-sūtra*, which is found quoted in the *Manusmṛti*, mentions the planets in their week-day order; and Rādhikā must have figured in folklore long before her relation to Kṛṣṇa is recognised in the Purāṇas.

Now that the existence of two Vikramas of Ujjain has been established, the next question is when did they live. Jain and Hindu tradition is unanimous that Vikramāditya founded the era named after him. As against this, it is agreed that the Vikrama era is named as such only in inscriptions of later times, and that in the early centuries it was known only as Kṛta or Mālava era. But the origin of an era has very little to do with its names in later times, and the same era may be known by different names in different times. The Gupta era was nameless for over a hundred years, before it came to be called at first, the Gupta and later the Valabhi era. The Traikūṭaka era was likewise nameless for over two hundred years before it came to be known at first as the Traikūṭaka and later as the Cedi era. The case of the Vikrama era is similar. At first it was nameless, then it came to be known by turns as the Kṛta, Mālava and the Vikrama era. It was called Kṛta, because it was believed to commemorate the Kṛta yuga. But as conditions became worse, it was found difficult to believe that Kṛta had already begun, and the era was called Mālava after the kingdom where it was most in use. Later on when the use of the era spread outside Mālava, it came to be called Vikrama, after the king from whose time it began to be used. The late association of Vikrama's name with the era is no disproof of his originating it. If Vikrama had nothing to do with its origin, there is no reason why the era should ever have been called after his name; and no one has explained how else the era came to be known as the Vikrama era. The *Jyotirvidyābharṇa* names Vikrama as the founder of the era of 57 B.C., and all Hindu almanacs say likewise. Jain tradition as recorded in *Prabhāvaka-Carita* and *Vikrama-Carita* says definitely that Vikramāditya of Ujjain founded the Vikrama era which preceded the Śaka era by 135 years. There is therefore no *prima facie* reason to disbelieve the Vikrama origin of the era; and so far no one else has been proved to have a better

claim. But before Vikrama I can be definitely accepted as the founder of the Vikrama era, his existence in the 1st century B.C. should be historically possible.

In the 1st century B.C., the Śuṅga empire broke up. In Magadha, the Śuṅgas had been replaced by the Kāpvas (77-32 B.C.). In Ayodhyā, the Mitras (later Śuṅgas) managed to survive for a few generations. One of these, Bahasatimitra, retreated to Mathurā, when Khāravela of Kāliṅga raided Aṅga and Magadha. Vidarbha was a buffer-state between the Āndhras under Śātakarṇi and the aggressive Khāravela. The principality of Avanti, which had been established under Agnimitra Śuṅga, had come under the sway of republican Mālavas, as their *jaya* coins indicated. Vikramāditya might have begun his career as a Mālava gaṇa-mukhya (tribal chief), and by his military achievements secured Kingship, like his contemporary Augustus Caesar. This historical possibility confirms the tradition that he was the founder of the Vikrama era.

When did Vikrama II live? Alberuni says that he founded the Śaka era to commemorate his destruction of the Śaka tyrant. But early Śaka inscriptions and Varāhamihira indicate that the era was known as the era of the Śaka kings; and Kaniṣka (1st century A.C.) is known to have started the use of an era, which was continued by Kushan Kings for at least 98 years. The Śaka satrapa of Malava and Gujarat also used the Śaka era from year 41 to 310. The Śaka era (78 A.C.) could not therefore have been the era commemorating the destruction of the Śaka tyrant by Vikrama II. Kalhaṇa, on the other hand, placed Vikrama II about 292 years after Vikrama I, i.e. in C. 230 A.C. If he is right, the era founded by Vikrama II would be the Traikūṭaka era of 248 A.C., and the Śaka destroyed by him would be the then Śaka satrapa of Malwa.

We must then distinguish between two Vikramas of Ujjain, and try to find out what each of them severally achieved. The first, who founded the Vikrama era, is the hero of Jain legends and *Vikrama Carita*. He was the son of Gardabhilla, who was probably a Bhil by caste and a gaṇa-mukhya (tribal chief) of the Mālavas. He was perhaps the first of the II Gardabhillas mentioned in the Purāṇas. In the *Vikrama-Carita* his name is given as Gandharvasena. He is said to have offended Kālakācārya, who thereon with the help of Shahanushahi of Sakastan (Seistan) attacked and killed Gardabhilla. Shahanushahi was originally a title of the Parthian Kings, which was later adopted by the Indo-Parthians and Kushans. Since Kālakācārya had to go as far as Sakastan, the Shahanushahi who helped him could not have been an Indo-Parthian or Kushan, but must have been a Parthian King and since Maues-Moga, the earliest of the Indo-Parthians, is associated on coins with Parthian Vologases (8 A.C.), and dates year 78 (21 A.C.), Kālakācārya and Gardabhilla must be placed before 8 A.C. This inference confirms the Jain tradition that Vikramāditya was the founder of the Vikrama era (57 B.C.). Vikrama recovered Ujjain and ruled long, and became famous for valour and generosity. Jains claim that he was converted to Jainism by Siddhasena Divākara and perhaps that is why they prefer the Vikrama era to the Śaka era in their reckonings.

Of Vikrama II, we know that his personal name was Harṣa, and his sovereignty was recognised even in far off Kashmir. When Hiranya died without issue, and his nephew Pravarasena was an exile in a potter's house, Harṣa made poet Mātṛgupta the king of Kashmir. After Mātṛgupta had ruled for 5 years, Pravara was preparing to recover his ancestral kingdom, when Harṣa Vikramāditya died. Then Mātṛgupta, inconsolable for his patron's loss, abdicated and Pravara became King of Kashmir. In the meantime, Harṣa's son Śilāditya Pratāpaśila had been ousted from Ujjain, and Pravara helped him to recover his throne. This Vikrama was famed as Śakāri, because he destroyed many mleccas, and in particular a Śaka tyrant, whom he killed at Karur. All this we know from Kalhaṇa and Alberuni, and the historicity of Śilāditya Pratāpaśila is confirmed by the discovery of coins bearing his name.

The last lambaka of Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* recounts the exploits of a Viṣamaśila Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjain. Somadeva claims that his work is a faithful summary of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, which is mentioned by Bāṇa (c. 630 A.C.). Guṇāḍhya is said to have written his famous romance in the time of a Śātavāhana, and cannot well be later than the 3rd century A.C. The legend of Viṣamaśila may therefore be substantially historical. This Vikrama must be Vikrama II, as Gardabhilla and not Mahendrāditya was the

father of Vikrama I, and as the names and titles of Viṣaṃaśīla Vikramāditya and Pratāpaśīla Śīlāditya indicate their relationship. Also among others Viṣaṃaśīla is said to have conquered the Pārasika King, and the Persians came to be known as Pārasikas only after Ardashir (223 A.C.), King of Persia, overthrew the Parthians and founded the Sassan dynasty. Viṣaṃaśīla is said to have been a Śaiva by faith and to have been anointed as King by his father himself, while Vikrama I had to recover his throne from a foreign usurper. We may therefore infer that Vikrama II was the son of Mahendrāditya, and father of Śīlāditya.

The *Vikrama-carita* confounds the two Vikramas. For instance, Vikrama, founder of the Vikrama era, is said to have been killed by Śātavāhana, brought up in a potter's house. Pravarasena was brought up in a potter's house, but he was contemporary of Vikrama II, who was not the founder of the Vikrama era. Vikrama I might have been killed by Śātavāhana, but Śātavāhana is not known to have been a potter's foster-son. He was evidently one of the early Āndhras, and probably Śrī Śātakarṇi, whose son Śaktisrī may be identified with Sakti-Kumāra of Jain legends. Again Bhartṛhari, said to be the brother and predecessor of Vikramāditya, is evidently the author of the *Śātakas* and *Vākyapadiya*, as the *Paṭaṇjali-Carita* states, and cannot therefore have been the brother of Vikrama I. The *Paṭaṇjali-Carita* adds to the confusion by making them the sons of a Candragupta, who is identified with Govinda, guru of Śaṅkarācārya.

Rājasekhara includes Vikramāditya (Sāhasaṅka) among the sabhāpatis (presidents of academies), and Soḍḍhala refers to him as Kavimitra (friend of poets). The *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* refers to his *navaratna* (9 gems) Dhanvantari, Kṣapaṇaka, Amarasirṇha, Śaṅku, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Ghaṭakarpara, Kālidāsa, famous Varāhamihira and Vararuci. It is not clear whether the sabhāpati and Kavimitra was Vikrama I or II; and the dates of the nine gems have not yet been fixed with certainty. But as Amara, Varāha, Vararuci and a Kālidāsa, friend of Kumārādāsa, belong to the 6th century A.C., the patron of these nine gems must be a third Vikrama, later than Vikramas I and II. Kalhaṇa, unfortunately, has nothing to say on these points.

The relation of Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya must now be considered. Abhinanda (9th century A.C.) in his *Rāmacarita* says that Śakāri helped Kālidāsa's poetry to attain fame, and as, according to Kalhaṇa, Vikrama II was the Śakāri, he must have been the patron of Kālidāsa. Vikramāditya is said to have sent Kālidāsa as ambassador to the feudatory Kuntala King; Bhoja and Kṣemendra quote verses from *Kuntaleśvara-dautya*, a lost work of Kālidāsa, which refers to this embassy. The Kuntala King in the time of Vikrama II (248 A.C.) was Vākātaka Pravarasena I; and, as Rāmādāsa says that Kālidāsa wrote the *Setubandha* for Pravarasena by Vikrama's request, the nominal author of *Setubandha* must be Vākātaka Pravara I.

This date of Kālidāsa is consistent with the internal evidence of his works. The political conditions of his time are reflected in the 4th and 6th cantos of the *Raghuvamśa*. Like Viṣaṃaśīla, Raghu is said to have defeated Pārasikas and Hūṇas. The name Pārasika was unknown before Ardashir (224 A.C.) became King of Persia; and the Hūṇas are among the post-Āndhra Kings mentioned in the Purāṇas. The Śakas, Kushans and Colas are not mentioned, as they had ceased to be important in his time. Aparānta (under Āndhras), Avanti (under Vikramāditya), Magadha (under Muṇḍas) and Kāliṅga (under Guha) were powerful. His homeland Vidarbha (under Pravarasena) was a feudatory of Avanti, as indicated in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. The *Vikramorvaśiyam* refers indirectly to Vikrama and Mahendra; both Śaivas by faith like himself. The *Meghadūta* similarly refers to Diṅnāga, a disciple of Vasubandhu (3rd century A.C.), as a carping critic, accusing him of plagiarism, if we accept the tradition recorded by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha. The charge of plagiarism perhaps refers to the parallelisms in thought and diction to Aśvaghoṣa. Again Kālidāsa not only uses a Greek astrological term jāmitra, but is conversant with judicial astrology, as indicated by his reference to 5 planets exalted and undimmed by the sun as a sign of royalty. This datum, indicates a date for Kālidāsa later than Ptolemy (c. 150 A.C.). These are all that can be ascertained about the two Vikramas.

GURURŪPĀLA—A PATRON OF VĀDI VIDYĀNANDA

By Dr. G. N. SALETORE.

In the brilliant galaxy of Digambara Jaina disputants and men of letters of the sixteenth century, the name of Vādi Vidyānanda stands pre-eminent. His remarkable achievements are mentioned in the Padmāvati Basti stone inscription found at Humcha (Nagar Taluka, Sorab District, Mysore State).¹ After extolling him this inscription goes on to say that he overcame in debate Nandana Malli Bhaṭṭa at Nañjarāyapaṭṭaṇa, the capital of king Nañjadeva; that he destroyed the "European Faith" of the Agent of the city of Śrīranganaagara where he also brought into his power the goddess Śārādā; and that he recited a famous poem at the court of the Śā(n)tavendra king, Kesari Vikrama. At Sālva Malli Rāya's court he excused the "language of those great in authority," in a congress of enlightened men. He won further laurels in the maritime city of king Gurunrūpāla by composing a remarkable Kannaḍa work. He then pleased Sālva Deva Rāya by disproving in his court the "great doctrines" of his rivals. In the assemblies of the kings of Nagari he made the learned company to sip "the immeasurable sweetness of the nectar of his speech." He then brilliantly expounded *Jaina Darśana* in the courts of Narasimha of Biḷige, and Bhairava of Kārakaḷanagara, and also in the assemblies of the *Bhavyas* of Bidire (i.e. Veṇupura). His next achievement occurred in the city of Vijayanagara where he refuted and controverted a company of speakers of other creeds. He subsequently visited other Jaina centres like Kopana, Beḷugoḷa and Gerasoppe where he further distinguished himself by his learning.

Of the rulers who thus patronised guru Vādi Vidyānanda many have already been identified.² The only exception is that of Gurunrūpāla in regard to whose identity the Humcha inscription affords two clues. First, it associates him with Malli Rāya, Deva Rāya and the "Kings of Nagari (*Nagari-rājayadarājara*...) all of whom are known to have belonged to the famous line of Sālva chieftains. Secondly, though there is no explicit mention of Gurunrūpāla's capital, the record states that Vādi Vidyānanda obtained fame by composing a remarkable Kannaḍa work in the court (*āsthāna*) of that king, adding to this detail the interesting facts that the ruler in question resembled Karma (in liberality) and that his territory bordered upon the ocean.³ It is interesting to find inscriptional evidence revealing the existence of a Sālva ruler named Gururāya Oḍeya who ruled about this time over a maritime principality with Sangitapura as his capital, and he is doubtless identical with his namesake who figures in the Humcha inscription as a patron of Vādi Vidyānanda.

According to a record dated 1527, and found at Mūḍa Bhaṭkal, the evidence of which will be cited furtheron, this Gururāya Oḍeya was the son of *Mahamaṇḍaḷeśvara* Sangirāya Oḍeya.⁴ An earlier inscription dated 1490 gives some important details about him. King Gururāya was a brother of Sāluvendra. His wife was named Virāmbā or Virāmbikā and he had three sons Haivarāja, Devarāja and Cennarāja respectively, of whom the last mentioned person married a Ganga princess called Bhāminī. The inscription records the death of Cennarāja in 1490 (on the date specified) upon which his mother built a mansion in front of the Caitya temple that was constructed by him earlier.⁵ It is worth noting that a ruler named Sāluvendra, the son of Sangirāya, is mentioned in an inscription at Hokekere dated 1488 and in a copper plate at Bidirur, dated 1491.⁶ These records also speak of Sāluvendra's younger brother Yindaradeva or Immaḍi Sāluvendra and show that the latter was ruling with his head-quarters at Sangitapura. Yindaradeva figures in 1471 in a record at Kāikini.⁷ It is likely that he was succeeded by Gururāya Oḍeya sometime in 1491, as no more references to him are forthcoming after this date.

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VIII, Nr. 46, pp. 146-7, text p. 376.

² *Jaina Antiquary*, IV, 1, pp. 1-21, where Dr. B. A. Saletore has exhaustively noticed the career of this Guru.

³ *Arṇava-Veṣṭita-Vasudhā : Karm-ōpama. Gurunrūpālan-āsthānadoḷ-em. Karmnāṭa-dakṣa-kṛtīyam Varṇisi Jasa Vaḍade Vādi Vidyānandā.*

⁴ Panchamukhi, *Ann. Report on Kannada Research in Bombay Province* for 1969-40, p. 69.

⁵ *Epigraphia Carnatica* VIII, Sa. 163, p. 124, and Sa. 164, p. 125.

⁶ Panchamukhi, *op. cit.* p. 66; also *ibid*, *Karnatak Inscriptions*, I, p. 148.

This line of rulers is associated with the administration of Bhaṭkaḷ and other kingdoms. In 1502 the king of Bhaṭkaḷ was acknowledging the authority of the Vijayanagara emperor. At this time Vasco da Gama was operating on the west coast. On reaching Bhaṭkaḷ, he noticed that the people were endeavouring to prevent his landing. Upon this he took the offensive, when the king of Bhaṭkaḷ dispatched certain Muhammadan dignitaries to offer his submission. The Portuguese commander accepted this gesture on three conditions: first, that the Turks (Sultans) should be excluded from trading at Bhaṭkaḷ; secondly, that pepper trade should be discontinued there; and thirdly permits were not to be issued to vessels proceeding to Calicut from that place. The king of Bhaṭkaḷ also agreed to pay an annual tribute of 1000 bags of common rice for the Portuguese soldiers and 500 of superior quality for their officers excusing himself from other commitments on the ground that he was only a feudatory of the Vijayanagara monarch, who was the overlord of the country.⁸ In 1517 when visiting Bhaṭkaḷ, the Italian traveller Corsali noticed that the King of Narasinga (i.e. Vijayanagara) was the lord of that city.⁹ It is likely that Gururāya was the ruler of Bhaṭkaḷ at this time. In 1527 according to a stone inscription at Mūḍa-Bhaṭkaḷ, Gururāya Oḍeya was administering "Batakaḷa and other kingdoms" with his capital at Saṅgitapura, as a feudatory of the Vijayanagara monarch Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya.¹⁰ In 1530 again we find him acknowledging the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara emperor Acyutadeva Rāya. In this year he fought a battle near Nagire with his kinsman Immaḍi Sāḷuva Kṛṣṇadevarasa, the king of Nagire. He was repulsed and possibly driven to take refuge in Saṅgitapura, for the *Viragal* which gives us this information says that Gururāya on meeting with a defeat sought shelter with Hāḍuvaḷḷi Isaradeva Nāyaka, who was evidently his officer, but that the latter fell in a fight with the enemy.¹¹ Gururāya appears to have died at the city of Vijayanagara sometime before 1540, for the Portuguese historians in mentioning this fact refer to a queen as the ruler of Bhaṭkaḷ in that year.¹²

This queen proved to be not a little truculent. She discontinued the payment of the tribute of rice agreed to by her predecessor and gave protection to some "pirates" who were inimical to Portuguese interests. Thereupon the Viceroy Martim Affonso de Sousa attacked her in 1543, forcing her to sue for peace.¹³ The Portuguese accounts do not mention this queen by name. But she was doubtless the same as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Cennādēvi Amma, the niece of Deva Rāya Oḍeya, who controlled Hāḍuvaḷḷi, Bhaṭkaḷ and other kingdoms from the capital of Saṅgitapura. Her known dates range from 1542 to 1598.¹⁴

Details are lacking however about the Karnāṭa work which Vādi Vidyānanda wrote at the court of Gurunṛpāla. It was evidently different from the Kannaḍa commentary on the Samskṛta work *Prāyaścitta*, which was written by a Jaina Guru also named as Vidyānanda.¹⁵ In the colophon of this commentary it is mentioned that it was composed in the Yuva samvatsara, corresponding possibly to 1515. But as this Vidyānanda refers to Akalanka, Candraprabha and another Vidyānanda, his identity with his namesake figuring in the Humcha record is highly doubtful. Nor can the latter be identified with Abhinava Vādi Vidyānanda who wrote a Kannaḍa treatise known as *Kāvyasāra* at the request of Bhairāgi, the lord of Bhallātakipura. This work was finished in the Vijaya Samvatsara on the 3rd Day of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada¹⁶ corresponding to 6th Sept. 1533. Though this date falls within the limits of the reign of Gurunṛpāla, the explicit mention of Bhallātakipura conclusively shows that *Kāvyasāra* was not the work which was patronised by that ruler. For it is known that Bhallātakipura was the same as Geṭasoppe or Kṣemapura and it was the capital of another collateral Sāḷuva family. Possibly the name of Bhairāgi is a mistake for Bhairādēvi or Bhairārāṇi who was ruling from that city a little earlier.

⁸ Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, pp. 81-2.

⁹ Gubernatis, Angelo De, *Storia dei Viaggiatori*, p. 117; Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 187.

¹⁰ Panchamukhi, *An. Rep.* etc., for 1939-40, p. 69.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹² Correa, Gaspar, *Landas da India*, etc. IV, p. 252.

¹³ Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, II, pp. 117-20.

¹⁴ Panchamukhi, *An. Rep.* for 1939-40, Nos. 75-85; Heras, *Aravidu Dyn. of Vijayanagara*, p. 423.

¹⁵ Narasimhacharya, *Karnataka Kavi Carile*, II, p. 96.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

REVIEWS

Jñānadīpikā, a Commentary by Devabodha, on the Ādi-Parvan of the Mahābhārata. Edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1941. Roy. Oct. Pages iv + 107. Price Rs. 4/-.

Having first appeared serially in the pages of the *Annals*, *Jñānadīpikā Mahābhārata-tātparya-likā* of Devabodha has now been issued in book-form. It is likely that Devabodha may have commented on the whole Epic. His commentary is available only for the *Ādi*, *Sabhā*, *Udyoga*, *Bhīṣma* and *Droṇa Parvans*, of which that on the *Ādi* and *Udyoga* has been published, the latter by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan edited by Dr. DE. It is hoped that the remaining Parvans also will soon see the light of day.

Dr. Sukthankar was the first to point out Devabodha as the earliest known commentator on the *Mahābhārata*, and to recognize the importance of the commentary for constituting the critical edition of the epic by utilizing it as a valuable testimonium. Devabodha's commentary on the *Ādi*, *Sabhā* and *Udyoga* has been utilized for the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. The special importance and evidentiary value, both positive and negative, of the commentary lie in the fact that it is earlier than the oldest MS collated for preparing the critical edition. Practically nothing is known about Devabodha who is assigned a period prior to 1150 A.D. Acharya Jinavijayaji's proposed identification of Devabodha mentioned in the *Prabhāvaka-carita* and other Jain works with the commentator of the *Mahābhārata* merits a careful consideration by scholars.

Dr. Dandekar, who is a member of the Editorial Board of the *Mahābhārata*, has carefully edited the text with full critical apparatus and references. The text is based upon three Devanāgarī Paper MSS, the oldest being dated Śaṃvat 1641 (1584 A.C.). Where the readings of all MSS were corrupt the editor has fixed up the text by referring to Arjunamīśra, who in his commentary profusely quotes from Devabodha. As regards the particular text-tradition followed by Devabodha, Dr. Sukthankar has already shown that Devabodha's text represented probably the version of the Śāradā-K type.

A. D. PUSALKER.

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Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library. By Pandit V. Krishnacharya, under the supervision of Prof. C. Kunhan Raja. Published by the Adyar Library. 1944. Pages vii + 210. Price Rs. 10/-.

A large number of MSS was acquired for the Adyar Library after its last *Catalogue* was issued in 1922, and as the publication of the proposed *Descriptive Catalogues of the Library* would naturally take up many years, the present Index has been prepared and published with a view to keep the *Catalogue* up-to-date. This will be supplemented, by Annual Lists which will be consolidated at convenient intervals of a few years.

The book under review records 7864 Sanskrit MSS preserved in the Adyar Library, under two alphabetical lists : (1) Index of Works, and (2) Index of Authors. The title of the work in the first list is followed by the name of the author, the subject of the work, and the names of the important Libraries in South India where the MS is available. Titles not noticed in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* have been indicated by the asterisk, so that an entry bearing an asterisk and showing no name of any South Indian Library against it, may be taken to be a unique MS available only at Adyar in the South. The second list gives the names of the authors, with their works, in alphabetical order. It would have added immensely to the value of the work if at least the script and material of the MSS could have been indicated by suitable abbreviations. The present Index, even as it is, will no doubt prove very useful and valuable to all workers in the field, especially those working on critical editions of MSS.

Works ascribed to Kālidāsa have been distributed between two Kālidāsas, and to the first have been assigned the three dramas, the *Kumārasambhava*, *Meghasandēśa* and *Raghuvamśa*. The second Kālidāsa has the *Rtusamhāra*, *Nalodaya*, *Śṛṅgāvatilaka* and *Śītābodha* along with some *Kāvya*s, *Stotra*s etc. Under Saṅkarācārya, however, all works, including the *Upaniṣad-bhāṣya*s, and *Kāvya*s and *Stotra*s have been listed. It is not known whether the four MSS of Bhāsa's works in the Adyar Library ascribe these works to Bhāsa (p. 184). All, however, appear without an asterisk. Aufrecht refers only to the *Svapnavāsavadattā Nāṭaka* as "quoted by Abhinavagupta in *Dhvanyālokalocana*" (CC, I, p. 749). The first MS of the *Svapna* was discovered in 1909, some six years after the last volume of Aufrecht's work was published. It is but natural that some minor inaccuracies may creep in in works of such nature ; and it would be unjust to criticize the work on this score.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and the Adyar Library deserve gratitude of all Sanskritists for making available a very useful list, which will prove handy and serviceable in a number of ways. It is hoped that the example of the Adyar Library will be followed by other MSS Libraries in India.

A. D. PUSALKER.

Jinaratnakośa, Vol. I. (Government Oriental Series, Class C, No. 4) by Prof. H. D. Velankar, M.A. Pub. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1944. Price Rs. 12 Annas & exclusive of postage; pp. ii + x + 466.

The *Jinaratnakośa*, Vol. I, an alphabetical register of Jain works, by Prof. H. D. Velankar is a grand achievement. The editorial branch of Jain research was sorely in need of a *catalogus catalogorum* on the lines of Aufrecht's great work. We all know that the editor's work has no critical value if he has not exhausted the whole field of manuscript material hailing from different parts and representing special traditions. Examples are not wanting to show that so many works have suffered from inappreciation for their having been based on scanty manuscript material. Textual interpretations, linguistic information, metrical variations all pre-suppose a good critical edition for their genuineness and acceptability. And it is a truism to say that good critical texts are not possible without a *catalogus catalogorum* providing the facts about the Mss. as far as humanly possible.

The book under review is the fruit of splendid effort, sustained through almost twenty-one years. It is, indeed, a life-work of the learned Professor, the Aufrecht of the Jain Mss. One can see at a glance how stupendous and killing the task is. We heartily congratulate the respected compiler for having brought it to termination so successfully. In editing, the informations regarding the Mss., their authors and their dwelling-places, the so-called Bhāṇḍārs, form the major and important portion of the whole undertaking. Thus the editorial world is, to say the least, under deep debt of gratitude to the Editor.

As the author humbly says in the Preface "it is not impossible that a number of statements made in this Kośa may be found inaccurate". But it can be accounted for by the fact that he was unable as anybody else in his place would have been, to personally scrutinize every manuscript on account of a number of reasons, including those of health and circumstances on which no one has hold. But a reason, greater than this, is the orthodox spirit of the Jains which has always in the past, banged the door against a non-Jain. Why only to a non-Jain! It has also kept the Bhāṇḍārs closed even to a Jain belonging to a hostile sub-section of the Jain community at large. This makes a sad history for the Jains and the editor has rightly dropped a mild hint at the orthodox and the conservative spirit of the Jains that should never have been and should never be manifested on occasions of purely academic and intellectual pursuits.

Unlike Aufrecht, the works and the authors have been separately catalogued. Thus the present volume is containing a list only of Jain works while Vol. 2 of the Kośa will be concerned with the Granthakṛt. The author has deliberately confined himself to listing Jain works principally written in Sanskrit, Prakṛit and Apabhraṁśa though he has also noted occasionally commentaries and works written in old Gujarati. The Jain works written in Gujarati have been "listed, described and illustrated admirably" by Mr. M. D. Desai in two volumes of his "*Jain Gurjara Kavis*"; no systematic catalogue of Jain works written in Hindi is known so far to be available; a good attempt of referring to the Jain works written in Kannaḍa has been made by R. Narasimhacharya in his *Kaṇṇāṭakavacarite*, Vols. I to III. But a single volume containing an all-round description of all the Jain works written in at least three above-named provincial languages is a desideratum which some scholar-brother should try to remove.

In conclusion, I should state that I am of humble opinion that the author deserves all the compliments of a methodic, conscientious and persevering scholar.

A. S. GOPANI.

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Comparative and Critical Study of Mantraśāstra. (Introduction to Śrī Bhairava Padmavati Kalpa) by M. B. Jhavery, B.A., LL.B.; Śrī Jain Kalā Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka Series, No. 1; published by S. M. Nawab, Ahmedabad; pp. 8 + 366; price Rs. 25.

The book under review is original inasmuch as it treats of a number of aspects of the Māntrika-Sādhana prevalent among various sections of society, namely, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Buddhists and Jains. The writer has ably attempted to describe magic and magical symbolism in the light of New Thought. It is followed up by a discussion of the technique of the magician establishing connection between modern views and theories and the beliefs of the Māntrikas on the subject. I think it is this writer who for the first time has given a satisfactory exposition regarding different colours selected for Dhyāna. The section on "Mantra—how it acts" gives in a succinct form the considered opinions of the Western writers and the Tāntrikas with the writer's argument based on his personal experience. Identification between 'Kundalinī Śakti' and 'Laya Yoga', tracing of the origin and development of the Tantras and the Tāntrika Sādhana, biographical notes about important personages responsible for propagating principles of Buddhist Tāntrism controverting some of the beliefs of Dr. Bhattacharya, disproving Dr. Bhattacharya's statements regarding certain Jain deities being of Buddhist origin and a short history of the original Darvish orders in India, their doctrines, religious and miraculous practices are some of the salient features which characterize the book.

The portion of the work devoted to the enunciation of the Jain Mantravāda is full of research and information for which the writer deserves our warmest compliments. A systematic study of the Jain Mantravāda with the history of its evolution was a desideratum and the book under notice effectively removes it. The problem of the dates of many distinguished writers of the works on Jain Mantra like the Anubhasiddha Mantradvātrimpīkā has been satisfactorily solved. Tradition has a distinct place in the survey of secret sciences such as Mantravāda etc. if not in any other branches of knowledge and study. The assignment of the Sūrimantra to the first Tirthāṅkara Śrī Rṣabhadeva can thus be defended. We agree to the author's ingenious suggestion to the effect that the worship of the Siddhacakra was popular since the bifurcation of the ancient Gaṇivijjā into the Sūrimantra and Pañca, paramēṣṭhi Mantra. It can be urged that the Doctrine of Mantra and the Doctrine of Karma cannot be harmonized. We see that this is not a real bed-rock as shown by the author on p. 170. The book contains here and there pieces of genuine research. In support of this I may cite the author's observation that on the occasion of marriage the gift used to be made up of idols of the deities invoked for prosperity, viz., Śrī, Hri, Dhṛti, Kīrti, Bud-dhi, Lakṣmī etc. While outlining the history of the Māntrikas subsequent to 1080 (V.S.), various points of importance are elucidated by adducing fresh evidence and new information is given from untapped sources. The prevalence of the worship of Ghaṇṭikā-yakṣa and Ghaṇṭā-karṇa is established on the strength of rare references. The untenable theory of the Ghaṇṭā-karṇa being a Buddhist deity has been fruitfully attacked. In the sub-section on the "Mantra Kalpi, Mantras and Vidyās," the author has listed so many works on the Mantra which are not mentioned in the hitherto published catalogues of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit Manuscripts.

Explanations and identifications of deities interspersed with critical notes are, indeed, interesting and novel.

The author's discovery after laborious investigation that a major portion of the Bhairava Padmāvati Kalpa is verbatim the same as found in the uptill-now unpublished work titled the Vidyānuśāsana is justified to be called most original. It thus robs Malliṣena of his so-called authorship of it.

The Appendices contain a critical review of forty Māntrika works. Observations relating to Appendix 7 evince the author's intimate knowledge of Māntṛic principles. The remarks under the title 'Śrī Ambikā' furnish much new information about her iconography and a firm ground is made out for her association with various Tirthāṅkaras. The relation of sixty-four Yoginīs with the famous Durgā or Nārāyaṇī, the examination of Pandit Premī's and Mr. Patel's views regarding the date of the Yogasāstra and a chapter on the "Parsis and Mantra" are really thought-provoking.

In a review, it is not possible to indicate each and every point granting author's claim on originality, laborious scrutiny, patient marshalling of facts and systematic, forceful presentation of the subject. There is no book on a regular survey of the Jain Mantravāda and as the present book is the first of its kind, it deserves every possible credit. It marks a distinct advancement in the stock of our present knowledge and I think I am not wrong if I say that it is an encyclopædia of the Jain Mantravāda. The absence of an index in such a valuable work is too strikingly felt but let us hope that it will be surely rectified in the second edition.

In conclusion we highly congratulate both the author and the publisher for bringing out such a precious work in such a nice form.

A. S. GOPANI.

Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra with the commentaries of Devasvāmin and Nārāyaṇa, Vol. I—*Adh-yāya* I (= The Adyar Library Series No. 44) edited by Svami Ravi Tirtha. The Adyar Library, 1944; pp. xx+220. Price Rs. 6/4-.

This is a nicely printed and got-up issue in a book form of the text that appeared serially from 1937 to 1941 in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*. The second volume is to cover up the rest of the text. The edition has been prepared from three MSS. Of the commentaries, that of Nārāyaṇa has been already published twice elsewhere, but the other one is printed here for the first time. As Devasvāmin preceded Nārāyaṇa, his commentary has quite obviously some importance even in that regard only. Accordingly one naturally welcomes the promise of the Foreword to publish a translation of the Sūtras with explanations in English based on the commentaries available. When published, it can prove to be an important complement of Oldenberg's translation.

In the Introduction the editor with a rationally reformist—and not blindly revivalist—attitude points out the great value of such ancient texts in view of the contribution they can make towards shaping our future life and society.

HARIVALLABH BHAYANI.

Uṣāniruddha : A Prakrit poem in four cantos by Rāmapānīvāda (= The Adyar Library Series No. 42). Edited by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, 1943. Pp. xxxii + 142. Price Rs. 3/8.

This edition of *Uṣāniruddham* is based on a palm-leaf MS. The MS. in the Government, Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras is also consulted. So it offers on that account a text more satisfactory than one previously prepared by Dr. A. N. Upadhye (see JUB. X, 2, Sept. 1941, pp. 170-75) on the basis of the transcript of the Madras MS. only. The episode of Uṣā and Aniruddha is here taken up to serve as the poetic theme and the poem is composed in a variety of the well-known classical metres. The language of the work is a specimen of the Prakrit used in literary compositions by the writers of the South belonging to a very late period (18th century A.C.).

It appears that sufficient care has not been bestowed upon the constitution and presentation of the text. For instance, we find, -*vimharijja-uddāmaṇvērō*- 1. 64 *ab* instead of -*vimharijjantuddāmayērō*- as given by Dr. Upadhye and supported by the *chāyā*; so also we find *muṇāsi* (even in the *chāyā* : *jānāsi*) 3. 52c instead of *muṇāmi* given by Dr. Upadhye and required by the context. Further, *mā-havō* 2. 21, *pāri-jāa* 4. 73, *sara-du-ddina* 2. 30, *saṇā-aṇa* 2. 63, *canda-anta-maṇi* 4. 52, *muḥambu-jaṇi* 4. 50, *siṇi-muḥa* 3. 32 are a few of the copious cases in which the method of hyphenating the compounds has been carried to an unreasonable and misleading extreme. Even the poor कृतवर्मा and कार्तवीर्य have got bisected as कय-वम्म 3. 63, कत-विज्ज 3. 34.

In the Introduction, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has at length discussed the question of the identity of Rāmapānīvāda with the Malayalam poet Kuñcan Nambiyar and established that the former is a different person from the author (or better authors) of the Malayalam works that have been by some fathered upon Rāmapānīvāda. We feel for the fact that Dr. Raja has thought it unnecessary to touch the language of the work. A little attempt at pointing out several important peculiarities of the Prakrit of the *Uṣāniruddham* was worth while, as it could have added something of value to the study of the Prakrit of *Kaṁsavahō* as attempted by Dr. Upadhye. To point out only one instance : at least two occurrences of *ahakē* (2. 62, 3. 7) and one of *amhakāṇa* (4. 23) against their single occurrences in the *Kaṁsavahō* show that these forms cannot be quite considered as intruders in the Prakrit used by Rāmapānīvāda.

An index of the stanzas and an exhaustive glossary are given at the end.

HARIVALLABH BHAYANI.

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Prof. JAYANTAKRISHNA H. DAVE, M. A., LL. B.

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NOTES AND NEWS

Indian Culture Essay Competition

THE BHAVAN invites original essays on any aspect of Bharatiya Samskriti (Indian Culture) written in Samskrit, Hindi or English for the annual Essay Competition which have been started in 1942. This year six gold medals (each of the value of Rs. 150) and six silver medals (each of the value of Rs. 25) are to be awarded. One gold medal and one silver medal will be awarded to the best and second best essays respectively received under each of the groups mentioned below. The branches of study given below in brackets are neither exhaustive divisions of the groups nor topics for essays in themselves, but are intended only to give a general idea of each group to a layman.

- (1) Religion and Philosophy (Buddhistic, Jaina ; Nyaya-Vaisheshika, Samkhya-yoga, Vedanta, Mimamsa, Vyakarna, etc.).
- (2) Art and Architecture (Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina, etc.).
- (3) Languages, Literature (Sanskrita, Prakrita, Apabhramsa, Modern Indian Vernaculars, Dravidian, etc.), Linguistics and Literary Criticism.
- (4) History (Political).
- (5) Social and Economic Order.
- (6) One gold and one silver medal have been specially donated for the best and next best essays on 'Bhagavad Gita and Life'.

CONDITIONS

1. The essays must be submitted by the end of August 1945.
2. Each essay must cover approximately 150 pages of foolscap sheets typed in double spacing (single side only).
3. The copyright of the gold medal essays will vest in the Bhavan subject to minor privileges to the authors.
4. The manuscript which should have temporary binding must bear the nom-de-plume of the contributor on the cover page and strict care should be taken to avoid disclosing the identity of the contributor. A sealed envelope bearing the nom-de-plume of the competitor on the outside and containing a slip giving his name and full address as also the nom-de-plume should be sent along with each essay.
5. Each contributor is allowed to choose the subject he prefers.
6. The decision of the judges selected by the Bhavan will be final.
7. Though every care will be taken of the MSS no responsibility attaches to the Bhavan in respect of them and authors are advised to keep duplicate copies with them.

RESULTS OF THE 1944 COMPETITIONS

For the 1944 competitions fourteen essays were received. They were examined by Shri K. M. Munshi, President, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, Dr. A. D. Pusalker, Asst. Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and Mahamahopadhyaya Anantakrishna Sastri, Professor, Calcutta University. The results are given below.

Name of Competitor :

Title of Essay :

GOLD MEDAL

Shri Vasant K. Donde, Bombay.	Idealism and Materialism in Indian Philosophy.
Prof. Kantilal B. Vyas, Bombay.	Asoka—A Historical study.
Shri Jagmohanlal Mahajan, Lahore.	Circumstances leading to the annexation of the Punjab.

SILVER MEDAL

Shri G. V. Palsule, Poona.	A new approach to Hinduism.
Shri Dharmjit Singhji, Lahore.	Aesthetic Philosophic Basis of Indian Art.
Shri Kamtaprasad Jain, Aliganj (Etah).	History of Hindi Jain Literature.
Shri G. N. Chakravarty, Mysore.	Bhagawadgita and Life.
Shri N. M. Billimoria, Karachi.	Ancient Tribes of India.
Dr. Vidwan Veeraraghavachar, Mysore.	Vidyabhyase Samkhya-Yoga Samanvayah.

The remaining three gold medals have not been awarded as the essays were not judged to be up to the mark.

The Munshi Literature Trust Fund

Last month our President, Shri K. M. Munshi, and Shrimati Lilavati Munshi made a generous and substantial gift to the Bhavan which was thankfully accepted. This 'Munshi Literature Trust Fund' consists mainly of the copyright in five English and thirty-one Gujarati works of Mr. Munshi and four Gujarati works of Mrs. Munshi and in addition a cash donation of Rs. 10,000 for instituting the Tapibehn Medals for the annual All-India Indian Culture Essay Competition; the cost of production of all the volumes of the "Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa" estimated at about Rs. 10,000, the Munshi Granthasamgraha containing 800 volumes of Indological and Gujarati publications costing over Rs. 4,000 and cash donation of Rs. 2,000 for miscellaneous purposes. Shri Munshiji has further promised to bear the expenses of a Professorship of Gujarati for one and a half years and to pay Rs. 2,000 towards the translation of the Munshi Publications into various modern Indian languages. Properly exploited, the copyright of the Munshi Publications is expected to yield the Bhavan a substantial annual income; the Munshi Granthasamgraha is a welcome addition to our Library; the institution of the Tapibehn Medals puts our All-India Indian Culture Essay Competitions on firm foundations and the Munshi chairs help the formation of the Bharatiya Sahitya Samiti as one of the activities of the Bhavan. Under the terms of the Trust one chair of Gujarati will be named in the manner desired by Shri Munshiji and the annual Munshi Lectures will be instituted.

The Bharatiya Sahitya Samiti

On 18th February, at a meeting of scholars and litterateurs in the various modern Indian languages, including among others, Shri K. M. Munshi, Acharya Jinavijayaji, Shri Mama Warerkar, Prof. H. D. Velankar, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, Prof. K. P. Kulkarni and Mr. Alfred Emily, it was decided to organise the Bhāratīya Sāhitya Samiti to encourage the comparative study of modern Indian languages and literatures and wherever possible to coordinate the literary activities in the said languages. The preparation of histories of the modern Indian languages as also comparative dictionaries in these languages, especially for technical terms, were suggested as activities which the Samiti might immediately take in hand. It was unanimously decided that the proposed Samiti should be organised as one of the activities of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Further details regarding the Samiti are being chalked out. The Registrar of the Bhavan will be glad to receive suggestions and assistance regarding this proposed activity.

Bhavan's Gita Examination Results

The Bhavan's Gita Examinations of this term were conducted from 22nd January to the 27th. At these examinations which were conducted for the first time, in all, twenty-eight candidates appeared from three centres. The results are given below :—

Gita Pravesh.

I. Class Distinction :—(24) Khajanji M. G.

I. Class :—(4) M. R. Vyas, (6) M. M. Joshi.

II. Class :—(3) H. K. Shukla, (7) A. M. Vyas, (10) R. D. Soni, (12) S. R. Patel, (13) P. M. Patel, (15) B. K. Patel, (16) G. H. Patel, (17) F. V. Solanki, (18) J. M. Mistri, (22) H. G. Brahmachari.

Pass :—(1) M. L. Joshi, (2) Y. G. Joshi, (8) U. J. Upadhyaya, (9) P. J. Bidwadkar, (14) R. D. Patel, (20) J. R. Patel, (21) M. B. Jani, (25) Narmadashankar Shukla.

Gita Vid.

II. Class :—(3) M. G. Khajanji.

Pass :—(1) M. M. Joshi.

Prizes.

Gita Pravesh :—The first three prizes are awarded to Nos. 24, 4, and 6 respectively in order of merit.

Gita Vid :—The first two prizes are awarded to Nos. 3 and 1 respectively in order of merit.

THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA AND THE BHĀṢYA OF ŚABARA

By MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA P. V. KANE

In a paper entitled 'Gleanings from Śabara and the Tantravārtika' contributed over twenty years ago to the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society (vol. 26, pp. 83-98) I pointed out (on p. 85) how Śabara in his Bhāṣya on Jaimini's sūtras several times mentions Pāṇini and Kātyāyana by name. In that paper I made no reference to Patañjali, as the latter is nowhere mentioned by name in the Sābarabhāṣya. Now and then scholars are found asserting either that Śabara did not know the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali or that Śabara is anterior in date to Patañjali. For example, Prof. G. V. Devasthali read a paper on the 'Probable date of Sabarasvāmin' at the Oriental Conference held in Hyderabad in December 1941 (which is now published in the Silver Jubilee volume of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute* pp. 84-97) in which he emphatically asserts (at p. 93) 'there appears to be no ground to suppose that Śabara was acquainted with Patañjali and his work.' This is a very bold statement and deserves to be carefully examined. It well exemplifies the danger of arguing from silence or drawing positive conclusions from the non-mention of a work or author in another famous work. The *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Sābarabhāṣya* are both vast works and cover hundreds of pages in print. They have not many points of contact in common. It is a matter of patient industry and research to ferret out passages for seeing whether one quotes the other. In the following a few passages are cited from Śabara's bhāṣya which would lead to the conclusion that Śabara had the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali before him and was a close student thereof.

I. Jaimini VI. 7. 31-40 constitute an *adhikaraṇa* in which Jaimini establishes that when the Veda speaks of a 'sattra extending over a thousand saṁvatsaras' it is men who are authorised by the Śruti to perform such sattras and that the word 'saṁvatsaras' in such Śruti texts really means 'days.' On sūtra 33 (of VI. 7) it is argued that human life is said in the Veda itself to be of only a hundred years' duration (in 'Śatāyur vai puruṣaḥ') and that this latter would be contradicted if *saṁvatsara* meant a year (since no man lives for a thousand years). The arguer replies that 'śatāyur' does not only mean 'one who lives for a hundred years' (*śatāni āyur yasya*), but one can dissolve the compound to mean 'who lives for hundreds of years' (*śatāni āyur yasya*). To this the reply given is that there is no authority for holding that a compound can be formed with the dual or plural of numerals, since there is a passage of a learned author to that effect. The words of Śabara are given below.¹ On turning to Kielhorn's edition of the *Mahābhāṣya* (vol. III, p. 141) it is found that on the Vārtika 'dvibahuṣva-samāsaḥ' (on Pāṇini VI. 3.1) Patañjali says द्विवचनबहुवचनान्तानामसमासः. So Śabara quotes the very words of the *Mahābhāṣya* and not those of Kātyāyana (which are different) and refers to Patañjali as 'abhiyukta.'

II. On Jaimini III. 4. 13 there is a lengthy discussion about the import of such a passage as 'one should not speak untruth' occurring in the Veda in connection with the Darśapūṣmāsa, whether these words contain an injunction (*vidhi*) or a mere *anuvāda* (recital of what is already known). Śabara's bhāṣya on this sūtra states at one² place (p. 922) the view of some that 'according to the dictum of the ācārya that the base and the termination together convey the sense of the termination' and reference is made to Pāṇini in the plural (ācāryāḥ)

1 अत्रोच्यते । शतान्यायुरस्येति विग्रहीष्यामः । नैवं संख्याशब्दानां समास इष्यते । न च गमकानि भवन्ति । द्विवचनबहुवचनान्तानामसमास इति चाभियुक्तवचनात् । (p. 1503 of the Ānandaśram edition).

2 The words of Śabara are 'आह प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ प्रत्ययार्थं सह झूत इत्याचार्योपदेशात् कर्ता शब्दार्थः कर्म चेत्यवगम्यते । कर्तरि शप् कर्मणि यगिति प्रत्ययार्थं कर्तारं कर्म च समासमन्त्याचार्याः । तस्माच्छब्दार्थः कर्ता कर्म चेति उच्यते । नाचार्यवचनात्सूत्रकारवचनाद्वा शब्दार्थो भवति । प्रत्ययादसौ गम्यते ।'

and his sūtras III. 1. 67 and 68. The reply to the above view asserts that the sense of words does not depend upon (or is not controlled by) the words of the ācārya or of the sūtrakāra. As here Pāṇini is expressly referred to as sūtrakāra, the word 'ācāryavacanāt' preceding the word 'sūtrakāra-vacanāt' cannot refer to him. The words quoted as the dictum of the ācārya occur in the *Mahābhāṣya*³ (vol. II, p. 58) on vārtika 2 on Pāṇ. III. 1. 67.

III. In his bhāṣya on the same sūtra of Jaimini (III. 4. 13), Sabara launches upon a grammatical disquisition about the import of terminations and remarks⁴ 'the traditional teaching (of grammar) also is the same, viz. that when unity (*ekatva*), duality and plurality are expressed by the termination, then the objective and the like come in as qualifying adjuncts.' Against this an objector urges 'It is also the case that when the objective and the like are expressed by the terminations, unity and the like come in as qualifying adjuncts.' It is expressly stated by the renowned Kumārīlabhaṭṭa in the *Tantravārtika*⁵ that in the words 'āgamopi cāyameva &c.' Sabara refers to the position of the Vākyakāra (Kātyāyana) and Bhāṣyakāra (Patañjali) on this point of the express sense of terminations. This discussion occurs in the Vārtikas and the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini II. 3. 1 ('*anabhihite*') in Kielhorn's ed. vol. I pp. 439-443. A few passages from the *Mahābhāṣya* are set out below. It will be seen that Sabara employs the very words of the *Mahābhāṣya*.⁶

IV. Jaimini IX. 1. 53 deals with the question of the import of the Vedic words about the Sāmīdhenī verses to be recited in the Darśapūrṇamāsa 'he repeats the first verse thrice.' Sabara states the conclusion that the repetition is an attribute of the position, i.e. whatever Vedic verse is first of the Sāmīdhenī verses is to be recited thrice. In connection with this topic Sabara states the following proposition⁷ 'the gender and number of all adjectives of quality are determined by the thing in which they inhere and which they qualify; so that even if no particular individual were actually denoted as the individual thing to be qualified (by an adjective), any gender that would appear to be necessary would be the basis of the

3 इदमस्य अथेवं स्वाभाविकमथापि वाचनिकं प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ प्रत्ययार्थं सह ब्रूत इति न चास्ति संभवो यदेकस्याः प्रकृतेर्द्वयोर्नानार्थयोर्युगपदनुसहायीभावः स्यात् । Kielhorn, Vol. II. p. 58 on Vārtika 2 on Pāṇ. III. 1. 67.

4 आगमोपि चायमेव यदैकत्वादयो विभक्त्यर्थास्तदा कर्मादयो विशेषणत्वेनेति । नन्वेतदप्यस्ति । यदा कर्मादयो विभक्त्यर्थास्तदैकत्वादयो विशेषणत्वेनेति । उच्यते । अर्थप्राप्ता हि कर्मादयस्ते न भवन्ति शब्दस्याभिधेयभूताः । न त्वेकत्वादयोऽर्थात्प्राप्नुवन्ति । तेन ते शब्दार्थभूताः । शबर on III. 4.13 p. 926.

5 त्वया मीमांसकेन वचनव्यक्तिक्रश्लेन भूत्वा स्वमनीषिकयैवमुच्यते । न तु व्याकरणसंप्रदाय एवमवस्थित इत्यत आह—आगमोपि चायमेव...विशेषणत्वेनेति । द्वाभ्यामपि वाक्यकारभाष्यकाराभ्यां बहुवचनवार्तिकेऽनिभिहितवार्तिके च द्वावपि कर्मत्वाद्येकत्वादिव्याच्यत्वपक्षौ दूरमनुसृत्यान्ते निर्दोषतयावधारितम् । कर्मादिविशिष्ट एकत्वादयो विभक्त्यर्थाः । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 926 on जै. III. 4.13.

6 अनभिहितस्तु विभक्त्यर्थस्तस्मादनभिहितवचनम् । वार्तिक ३ on पा. II. 3.1; कः पुनर्विभक्त्यर्थः । एकत्वादयो विभक्त्यर्थास्तेष्वनभिहितेषु कर्मादयोऽभिहिता विभक्तीनामुत्पत्तौ निमित्तत्वाय मा भूवन्निति तस्मादनभिहितवचनम् । महाभाष्य (Vol. I. p. 440.); कर्मादिष्वपि वै विभक्त्यर्थेष्ववश्यमेकत्वादयो निमित्तत्वेनोपादेयाः । महाभाष्य I. p. 441; कृत्प्रयोगे तु परं विधानं षष्ठ्यास्तत्प्रतिषेधार्थम् । वार्तिक 13 on पा. II. 3.1; कृत्प्रयोगे तु परत्वात् षष्ठी प्राप्नोति तत्प्रतिषेधार्थमनभिहिताधिकारः कर्तव्यः । कर्तव्यः कट इति ॥ स कथं कर्तव्यः । यद्येकत्वादयो विभक्त्यर्थाः । अथ हि कर्मादयो विभक्त्यर्था नार्थोऽनभिहिताधिकारेण । महाभाष्य I. p. 443. It is these last two sentences to which the *Tantravārtika* refers in the words अन्ते निर्दोषतयावधारितम् &c. Vide also महाभाष्य on पा. I. 4. 21 न वैकर्मादयो विभक्त्यर्थाः । के तर्हि । एकत्वादयः ।

7 अत्रोच्यते । गुणवचनानां हि शब्दानामाश्रयतो लिङ्गवचनानि भवन्तीत्यविशेष्यमाणयामपि व्यक्तौ यदवश्यं प्राप्तं लिङ्गं तदाश्रयभूतं गुणस्य भवति । अविधित्सितेपि तस्मिंलिङ्गविशेषनिर्देशोऽनुवादभूता भवत्येव । यथा शुक्रः पुमान् शुक्रा स्त्री शुक्रं नपुंसकम् । शुक्र एकः शुक्रौ द्वौ शुक्रा बहव इति । शुक्रां शादीमानयेति । &c. शबर on जै. IX. 1.33 p. 1675.

qualifying adjective.' These words and the examples given are an echo of what the *Mahābhāṣya* frequently says⁸ (e.g. vol. I. pp. 228, 246, 410, 422, 430 &c.).

The above passages taken from different parts of the *Śābarabhāṣya* when compared with the *Mahābhāṣya* and the words *ācārya* and *abhiyukta* applied to the author from whose work at least two of them are taken should suffice to establish that Śābara knew the *Mahābhāṣya* very well. There are a few more passages which may be relied upon for the same purpose. But they are not cited here since, if these most striking passages cannot bring conviction to the mind of a fastidious critic, they also will fail to improve matters.

SHAH SHUJA IN LAHORE (1813-'15)

By Dr. N. K. SINHA

The Durrani monarch Shah Shuja lost his throne in 1809. As he was deserted by his chiefs and his people he had to desist from operations. He was carried off a prisoner to Kashmir where Ata Muhammad Khan, the Afghan Governor would only offer him release if he gave the Koh-i-noor. The Shah refused to surrender this jewel. He was released from captivity by Mukkam Chand, Ranjit Singh's general and was brought to Lahore. Shah Shuja remained there for about two years (1813-15).

After his arrival in Lahore Shah Shuja was assigned for his residence the haveli of Sada Singh (Sawa Singh) and another haveli for his harem. If necessary, intercourse between the two residences could be interrupted. On the second day after his arrival Ram Singh came. He demanded the Koh-i-noor. Shah Shuja replied that it was not with him but when real friendship would be established he would give it. Ram Singh asked for it again next day. The same reply was given. There was an altercation. After this the free movement of his people was at an end. At times Ranjit's men would permit his attendants to go out, at times they would not. They would supply food or would not according to their pleasure. Thus one month passed. Every day they would ask for the Koh-i-noor and the Shah's reply always was—"when friendship will be established it will be given." The confidential servants of Ranjit Singh enquired if the ex-king wanted ready money and was willing to enter into a treaty for the world-famous diamond. The Shah answered in the affirmative and after some days about fifty thousand rupees was given in several instalments. The confidential agents of Ranjit Singh again asked for the Koh-i-noor. Shah Shuja replied that when a treaty securely laid the foundations of unity he would give it to the Maharaja. Two days after Ranjit Singh himself came, expatiated at length on his friendship, took an oath on his holy granth and the sword and made a paper grant of the districts of Kot Kamalia, Jhang Sial and Khulnur to the ex-king and also offered assistance in troops and treasure if the Shah attempted to recover his throne and also assured him that the friendship now established would continue even if he succeeded in reconquering Kabul. There was an exchange of turbans. Shah Shuja then gave him the Koh-i-noor. On the second day after this Shah Shuja returned the visit. There was music and dancing to soothe the feeling of the ex-king.

But Ranjit did not fulfil his part of the contract. When Shah Shuja sent his people to the districts assigned, Ranjit's people would not let them manage. The Lahore ruler was approached and he said that he would give these to the ex-king next year. In the meantime Mulla Sher Muhammad, Shah Shuja's "pesh namaz" (imam), was alleged to have written a letter to Azim Khan. Ranjit sent this letter to Shah Shuja and asked him to punish the culprit or send him to the Lahore ruler. Shah Shuja sent him to Ranjit Singh who had him imprisoned. Sher Muhammad was tortured and very badly treated. Shah Shuja released him by payment of 12,000 rupees. At last it was known that Mulla Zafar and Abul Hasan, two men in the train of Shah Shuja who were enemies of Sher Muhammad had done this.

8 इदं तत्र तत्रोच्यते । गुणवचनानां शब्दानामाश्रयतो लिङ्गवचनानि भवन्तीति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 228; गुणवचनानां शब्दानामाश्रयतो लिङ्गवचनानि भवन्ति । शुक्लं वस्त्रम् । शुक्ला शाटी शुक्लः कम्बलः शुक्लौ कम्बलौ शुक्लाः कम्बला इति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 246.

They had accompanied the family of Shah Shuja to Lahore, they had appropriated his money and joined Ranjit Singh's party. They were at the root of the Koh-i-noor affair and they were responsible for the present troubles as well.

Ranjit then asked the ex-king to accompany him to Rohtas and Shah Shuja accompanied him. Ranjit went to Rawalpindi with the ex-king in his train. He was told that Fateh Khan was at Peshawar and Ranjit would go there. But Ranjit abandoned this expedition and returned to Lahore, leaving Shah Shuja with prince Kharak Singh and his agent Ram Singh. The latter even sent thieves to steal his belongings. They were caught. Kharak Singh asked for the Shah's camp beds and other personal belongings which the Shah had to give. As Ram Singh and Kharak Singh started for Lahore he was asked to accompany them and on the way he was surrounded by 300/400 Sikh sowars and lost all his belongings including jewels, silk goods, gilt swords, small guns and gold and silver coins. When he reached Lahore he was compelled to part with half of his belongings which were taken by Ranjit Singh's men. Thus the Sikh chief violated all his promises. Even after this spies continued to watch him and guards surrounded his dwellings.

The Shah decided to fly. His family escaped to Ludhiana in the costume of Indian women who frequented his harem but he himself was being closely watched. Ranjit was surprised when he heard about the flight of the Shah's family. The precautions were now redoubled. Eight persons guarded his haveli at night. He made a hole through the ceiling and changed room after room seven times in succession. Leaving a faithful attendant to sleep on his bed, the ex-king with his immediate attendants escaped in the dress of a fakir, reached the bazar, thence the riverside. As the city gates were guarded he must have escaped through one of the nullahs of the city. The boatmen previously engaged were there and the ex-king escaped to the hills. After an ineffective attempt on Kashmir with the assistance of the Raja of Kishtwar the Shah finally reached Ludhiana where he had his family. The ex-king thus placed himself under British protection. This was in September, 1816.

After his escape Ranjit seized the money which the ex-king had deposited with the bankers at Lahore. In his anger the Shah in his autobiography describes the Sikhs as "bad nehat"—men whose very foundation is evil.

This is the version of the ex-king himself of the life which he led at Lahore during the months he lived there under Sikh protection (*Tarikh-i-Shah Shuja* f 56—f 69). The *Tarikh Sultani's* version is not materially different from that of the ex-king (*Indian Antiquary*, XII and XVII). This version of events is also substantially corroborated by contemporary news letters (Events at the court of Ranjit Singh). In one of these letters dated 4th March, 1814, we find that "Ram Singh" came in and reported that he had gone to the dera of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, had demanded the jewellery, had then sent five maid servants into the ladies' apartments inside the palace, that they had brought everything that they could find in the interior such as jewellery, turquoise, pearls, small boxes, carpets and the like and Hazrat Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk had wept and cried aloud that he could not resist the will of god." But there are two material points of divergence. In a letter dated 8th June, 1813, we read "Ghafoor Khan Afghan came from Jhang Sialan, paid his respects, presented one gold ducat as nazr and stated that he had been in service at Jhang for a very long time but that since the control of Hazrat Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk had been established there he had been dismissed from his post and did not know where to go from the door of the Noble Sarkar."

This letter shows that the districts promised must have been assigned to Shah Shuja and his control established there. Subsequently on account of reasons as yet unknown these must have been resumed. Shah Shuja tells us that Sher Muhammad was falsely accused of writing to Azim Khan. But we read in a letter dated 23rd June, that "Pir Baksh in charge of the police station came in and stated that Mulla Hasan and Qazi Sher Muhammad Khan, the companions of Hazrat Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk had written some letters on their own accord and under their own seals to Sirdar Fateh Khan Wazir that as the messenger carrying these letters had been brought to him as a captive, therefore he submitted those letters to the Noble Sarkar.—It was written in them that the Noble Sarkar was all alone at that time in Lahore,

that he had no troops with him, that if he the wazir would send his troops it would not be difficult to capture Lahore."

It was well known that after Shah Shuja had been seized by Ata Muhammad Khan, the lancet was frequently held over his eyes and he was threatened with instant death with a view to extort the Koh-i-noor from him (Burnes, *Travels* III). Wafa Begam, wife of Shah Shuja sent a petition to Ranjit Singh to the effect that the Afghan Wazir was talking of taking Kashmir and in that case her husband would be taken to Kabul and his eyes would be taken out. So Ranjit was requested to rescue him. Ranjit was also told that the Koh-i-noor was in Kashmir with the Shah and if he was taken to Kabul the priceless jewel would be taken along with him (*Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh*, 1812). Thus it seems quite probable that Wafa Begum promised Ranjit Singh the world-famous jewel if he succeeded in rescuing Shah Shuja from the hands of the Afghans and the Sikh ruler could claim it in return for the services rendered. Ranjit later told Wade, British Agent at Ludhiana, that Shuja-ul-Mulk was rescued because the Koh-i-noor had been promised as the price. But the ex-king was not a simpleton like Muhammad Shah, the Timurid, so that a wily exchange of turbans would bring the Sikh ruler the world-famous jewel. In this Koh-i-noor transaction "the character of Ranjit Singh more unscrupulous than cruel was curiously displayed in the measures he adopted. No greater severity was employed than appeared absolutely necessary to overcome the obstinacy of the Shah and none was omitted that promised the accomplishment of the end" (Osborne-introduction). It required more self denial than is to be expected that with the world-famous diamond in his grasp he would not try to secure it merely out of respect for "the shade of that which once was great". Reverence for the past was not his weakness. It is relevant to quote from Babur's autobiography his estimate of the value of the Koh-i-noor. "It is so valuable that a judge of diamonds valued it at half of the daily expense of the whole world." This precious jewel, as seen by visitors who came to the Sikh Durbar after 1814 was of the shape of a small hen's egg set as an armlet with a large diamond on either side of it.

Shah Shuja was not a helpless dependent ex-king as was Shah Ayub who later sought shelter in Lahore and was granted an allowance of rupees one thousand a month and a jagir. Even after he was plundered by Ranjit Singh the ex-king had still in his possession jewels whose sale proceeds yielded him a very considerable amount at Ludhiana and enabled him to embark on his ambitious ventures.

Ranjit's rapacious treatment of Shah Shuja after the Koh-i-noor seizure has been sought to be justified on the charge of the intrigues of the Shah and his companions but it scandalised even Ranjit Singh's own courtiers. We find in a letter dated 10th September, 1813—"The Noble Sarkar told Nihal Singh, Mith Singh Bharania, Bhai Gurbaksh Singh individually in privacy that Shuja-ul-Mulk had with him one saddle, beset with jewels worth 28 Lakhs of rupees, one big bedstead of turquoise fixed upon four legs, each of which was studded with one big diamond and he said he proposed demanding these articles for himself. They said that the Noble Sarkar could do whatever he thought fit but that already he had suffered a great deal of disrepute in his seizing the Koh-i-noor gem from him and these things could not be secured without inflicting further hardship, unpleasantness and humiliation. The Noble Sarkar might show him kind attention, consideration, patronage and encouragement." It is not difficult to understand Ranjit's design to detain Shah Shuja as a prisoner and to make use of his name for purposes of his own. This also explains the anxiety of the Shah to escape from his clutches. Ranjit was eager to secure his jewels and other valuables and deprive him of the means of independent endeavour. But he was not unwilling to supply him money if he was really in need of it. On the 19th September, 1813 he sent Shah Shuja 1000 rupees for his expenses and the Shah accepted it. On the 27th October, 1814 the Shah was paid Rs. 2,000. There are other entries (*Events at the court of Ranjit Singh*). The ex-king could not, however, like such dependence on the Lahore chief for his daily expenses. With his jagir resumed, his jewels seized, his pension of no fixed amount, the Shah felt that his position was intolerable and he wanted to escape. But it is interesting to note that even after he was repeatedly despoiled, we find Shah Shuja trying to secure Ranjit's help while at Lahore to fight Fateh Khan. Ranjit's reply was that the best policy was that of delay.

Sadi Khan Kotwal was appointed to guard Shah Shuja. When the Shah protested the Lahore Chief replied that he was not a prisoner but had only a guard of honour (*Zafarnama*, 1815).

In spite of the shabby treatment at Lahore, the Shah being always guided by political considerations and not by a sense of personal injury and personal wrongs was always eager to approach him for help even from Ludhiana and at times Ranjit responded to his appeal. In the *Catalogue of Khalsa Durbar Records II*, p. 192, under the heading *Madid Kharch* we find that Ranjit supplied to the ex-king between 5th Bhadon 1890 and 19th Baisakh 1891 (1833-34 A.D.) a sum of Rs. 14,500 for his Qandahar expedition. But the Umdat-ut-Tawarikh's figure is one lakh twentyfive thousand. If the Shah could forget his personal wrongs so soon and approach him for help and later make him an ally, the historian has no right to expatiate on these personal wrongs inspite of the unfavourable impression created by Ranjit's shabby treatment of the fugitive monarch in his distress.

VĀYU-WORSHIPPERS IN GUJARĀT

By Dr. M. R. MAJMUDAR

Gujarāt is a land of sub-castes for various reasons; the exclusiveness consequent on foreign invasions and the influx of foreign settlers in the land of Gujarāt has necessitated separate castes and sub-castes among Brāhmins, Vaiśyas and even some of the Śūdras.

The traditions of a particular section or sect, under such circumstances were formulated in a sort of Purāṇa works; and it is not surprising that we have an 'Audicya Prakāśa' for the Brahmin settlers from the north in Gujarāt, a 'Śrīmāla Purāṇa' for original inhabitants from Śrīmāla of Bhinnamāla, a 'Moḍheraka Purāṇa' for the Moḍha Brahmins, Vaiśyas, and even oilmen from their habitat at Moḍherā (North Gujarāt), and an 'Anāvila Purāṇa' for the Anāvila Brahmins in the South of Gujarāt.

The Vāyu Purāṇa,¹ not the one of the eighteen principal Purāṇas but a fragmentary medieval Sanskrit text in 14 'adhyāyas', comprising of 572 'ślokas' describes the original habitat of Brahmins and Vaiśyas, which was a place named Vāyaḍa, a few miles north of Paṭṭan, in North Gujarāt. A notable sect of Jaina Sādhus is also known from this place as the 'Vāyaḍa gaccha' as early as the 12th century.

The particular section of Brahmins and Vaiśyas which is known to have Vāyaḍa as its original place, has amongst its families the worship of Vāyu as the traditional family-god, at times with his consort, the Vāyavi devī. As members of this section of the population of Gujarāt gradually migrated towards the South, they carried their religious and social traditions with them; and this explains the existence of several temples of Vāyu all over Gujarāt.

In the Hindu cosmos, the eight quarters of the universe are governed by eight Guardian deities, beginning with Indra; they are known by the name of Dikpālas. Vāyu is assigned the guardianship of the north-west region of the universe. These eight deities have prominent positions in the Vedas, long before Viṣṇu and Śiva became supreme in Hindu belief.

As the ocean was considered to form the western limits of India, Varuṇa, the lord of waters was put in charge of the western direction; and Vāyu was made the guardian of the north-west corner, as the wind-currents from the western ocean passer towards the north.

Ten Dikpālas are found to be sculptured on the ceilings of the 'maṇḍapa' of a temple, just as those on the cave-temples at Badāmi. But very rarely are independent temples dedicated to each of these guardians. These are assigned their respective subordinate positions as attendant-gods on the main temple with a view to protect the temple itself.

The original temple of Vāyu-devatā in Gujarat, it is believed, was situated at Vāyaḍa, with a beautiful step-well by its side, which when falling on bad times, had the images removed

¹ Shri Rāmālāl Modi's recent edition (1944) of the Sanskrit text refers to an alternative title of the work as *Vāyuvāṭa purāṇa* as met with in some MSS. This title appears to be more appropriate and significant, because the Sanskrit word *Vāyu-vartma* (the way of the wind) not only philologically yields the term *Vāyaḍa*, through the following intermediate stages: Vāyu-Vaṭṭa—Vāyavaḍḍa—Vāyaḍḍa and Vāyaḍa, but also suggests the habitat-name of the Vāyaḍa Brahmins and Vaiśyas as in the case of place-names of other caste-groups.

and established at Paṭṭan, the flourishing town in the neighbourhood. Vāyaḍa is now a deserted village.

These images located at Paṭṭan are not of stone but of metal owing probably, to their being the kula-devatās and not the public deities. The Guardian of the north-west quarter is accompanied by his consort Vāyavi, the Añjanī of the Rāmāyaṇa, and the mother of Hanūmān. Vāyu, as the father of Bhīma, in the Mahābhārata testifies to the post-Vedic importance of Vāyu. The face of Vāyavi-devī is monkey-like and she is two-armed. The four arms of Vāyu hold 'akṣasūtra' a 'dhvaja', a 'varada mudrā' (pose) and a 'kamaṇḍalu' respectively, starting from the lower right hand. The antelope is shown by the feet, at the left hand corner.

An image of Vāyu in stone, placed in a niche at the north-west corner of a main temple at Vaḍanagar, 13th century, is shown to hold something resembling a lotus-stalk in the upper left hand, in place of a simple 'varada' pose. The 'vāhana' is shown to the right, in this case. An image of Vāyu from the temple at Broach (inscribed Śaṃvat 1510) shows the lower right hand with 'varada', the upper one holding the 'akṣasūtra'; the upper left hand holds the 'dhvaja', and the lower one the 'kamaṇḍalu.' The 'vāhana' is seen behind the image.

The Vāyu-temple at Baroda houses both Vāyu and Vāyavi. The Vāyu image in white marble is identical to the one described from Broach, which is however of black granite. Vāyavi-devī, is in a sitting posture, as if she were riding a deer. With one of her four hands she holds a child, very probably Māruti.

Temples of Vāyu are in actual worship at Bhuj in Cutch, Dwārakā, Cambay, Ahmedabad, Broach, Surat and Andheri. This fact suggests the idea, behind these temples, all of which are situated in close proximity to the Western and the Arabian Sea. The devout and flourishing worship of Vāyu as a family-deity ('kula-devatā') in a particular section of the Vaiśyas in Gujarāt evokes many cultural associations. It is also noteworthy that invariably the image of Viṣṇu is also installed in a Vāyu-temple, who equally shares the devotion of these Vaiśyas.

The Nagara-śeṭhas of Broach who are worshippers of Vāyu have been known to carry on extensive trade by sea with Arabia, Iran and other parts situated in the north-west direction to the coast of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār.

This ancient maritime trade of some of the merchants of Gujarāt with countries situated in the north-west corner of the Arabian Sea partly explains the existence in Gujarāt of the uncommon worship of Vāyu, who is the protector or the 'dikpāla' of that quarter.

Vāyu is naturally propitiated in order that the winds may be congenial to their voyage and trade and that the ships might have good speed; the conveyance of the antelope and the symbol of a banner are mentioned among the distinguishing features of the Protector of the North-west. This fact is very significant.

The co-existence of a Viṣṇu-image with Vāyu is explained by the fact that Lord Kṛṣṇa, who later in life settled in Saurāṣṭra, has his seat at Dwārakā in the farther west, and is known as Jagan-nārāyaṇa or the Jagat Beṭ of the Muslim times.

A MS. OF GHATAKHARPARA KĀVYA WITH A NEW COMMENTARY

By Prof. C. N. JOSHI.

§ 1. The Osmania University really deserves to be congratulated on its starting the work of collecting Mss. and old records, in the Marāṭhavāḍā of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, though 22 years after its inception. No doubt research work was started here about 10 years ago, but no real research work worth the name, can be thorough and complete, unless it is based on original Mss. which form so to speak its real sinews. I therefore consider myself fortunate in being the first to be entrusted with this interesting and most important work of Mss. collection.

During my tour in the Nanded district, I visited Basmatnagar, on the 12th of February 1941. It is a small town of ancient fame for learning. Its antiquity goes as far back as *Skanda Purāṇa*, wherein we find its description under the name of Vasumatnagar. A 'Pothi' called *Vasumati Māhātmya*, exists in the Maṭha of Shri Krishna Tīrtha Swāmi of the place, bearing the colophon as follows :— शके १७१२ साधारणसंवत्सरे उत्तरायणे आषाढ शु०॥१०॥ सौम्यवासरे नारायणभट्टभाजेन सदाशिवेन लेखनं समाप्तं ॥

The Swāmiji was pleased to present me a Ms. of Ghaṭakharpara Kāvya with a new commentary on it, along with the Mss. of Mukteśwara's 4 Parvas of *Mahābhārata* and Nivṛtti Devī Gītā Tīkā.

It is a short and sweet poem well known to all Sanskrit Scholars and I am going to place my remarks and observations thereon.

Description of the Ms. :—The Ms. measures 8"-4 × 4", with a margin of 1" left all round. It has 15 pages with 22 verses written on them along with their commentary. There are about 7 to 8 lines on each page and each line contains about 22 to 23 letters. It is generally written correctly, though about 18 corrections appear to be made in the margin. The verses are written in run-on lines without distinction of different Pādas. This makes the first reading rather difficult. But the commentary leaves no doubt in that respect. The paper is old and rather rough. The Ms. is written in deep black ink and it is quite legible and complete.

Kālidāsa who is universally considered to be the most pre-eminent Sanskrit poet, has enjoyed the honour of having 18 different commentaries on his famous *Megha-Dūta Kāvya*. That this tiny little poem of only 22 verses should have about 15 commentaries on it, decidedly proves the high estimation and honour in which it is held by Sanskrit scholars.

They are stated below in chronological order :—

1. *Kulakavṛtti* by Abhinavagupta 1000 A.D.
2. By Śāntisūri, a Jain Pandit about 11th or 12th Century.
3. By Kauśalkavi, grand-son of Kṣemaṅkara 15th Century.
4. By Bharatamalla A.D. 1728.
5. *Ghaṭakharparayojinī* by Bhaṭṭa Śrī Kamalākara 1735 A.D. son of Caturbhuja.
6. By Tārācandra, A.D. 1767.
7. *Subodhikā* by Ramāpatimiśra, A.D. 1822.
8. *Candrikā* by Govardhana A.D. 1867.
9. *Subodhinī* by Āḍakmalla. Time not known.
10. *Mugdhābodhanā* author not known.
11. By Vidyānātha.
12. By Sankara.
13. By Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda.
14. By Jivānanda Vidyāsagara A.D. 1888
15. *Madhuraṭika* by Upadhyaya Ramacaritra 1914 Nirnaysagar Press, [See Ap.]
16. The present new Ms.

13 of these are mentioned by Aufrecht in his index and by H. K. Chariar in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*. Number 2 is mentioned in the 54th issue of *Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Patrikā* and the 16th is found by me.

The first, that of Abhinavagupta, is the oldest and can be seen in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library. I had no access to it. Extracts from the beginning and end from commentaries numbers 5, 6 and 7 have been obtained from Bhandarker Oriental Research Institute, Poona. And the two viz., that of Vidyāsagara and the Ms. I have studied in full.

Number two that of Śāntisūri ends thus :— समाप्तमिदं घटकर्परस्य टिप्पणकम् । This is quite plain and simple giving only Khandānvaya and pointing out the subject, predicate and object, if any. It has nothing critical or learned about it. *Govardhanī Tīkā* follows nearly the same method, but is superior to the former in as much as it adds grammatical notes and occasionally points out figures of speech.

Extracts obtained from Ramāpatimiśra and Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara's Tīkāś contain only introductory verses and chronograms. Therefore nothing can be said about the merits of

their Tīkāś. But the extract from Tārācandra's Tīkā contains commentary on the first and the last verses. It thus gives scope for comparing it with the Tīkā of my Ms.

Verse I. निचितं खमुपेत्यनीरदैः प्रियहीनाहृदयावनीरदैः ।

सलिलैर्निहितं रजः क्षितौ रविचंद्रावपि नोपलक्षितौ ॥ १ ॥

ताराचंद्रटीकाः—श्रीगणेशायनमः । प्रोषितप्रमदया इदं उच्यते । इति षष्ठमश्लोके अन्वयः । निचितमिति । प्रोषितप्रमदया विदेशगतभर्तृकया सख्याः अग्रतः । इदं निचितं । इत्यादि वक्ष्यता चोच्यते । हे सखि कुंदसमानदंति कुंदपुष्पवत् समनाः दंताः यस्याः सा तथोक्ता तस्याः संबोधनम् । खं आकाशं । नभोतरिक्षं गगनमनंतं सुरवत्स खं इत्यमरः । नवीना टीकाः—श्रीगणेशायनमः । निचितमिति । प्रोषितप्रमदयेदमुद्यते इति षष्ठश्लोकेनान्वयः । प्रोषितप्रमदया विदेशगतभर्तृकया सख्याः अग्रतः इदं निचितमित्यादि वक्ष्यमानं चोच्यते हे सखि कीदृशी कुंदसमानदंति कुंदपुष्पवत् समानाः दंताः यस्याः सा तस्या संबोधनम् । निचितं व्याप्तं अच्छिन्नं खमाकाशं कैः नीरदैः । किंभूतैः प्रियहीनाहृदयावनीरदैः । प्रियेण वल्लभेन हीना प्रियहीना तस्या हृदयं चित्तं तदेव अवनिर्भूमिः तां । रदंतीति रदाः तैः तासां मनोविदारकैरित्यर्थः । रदविलेखने । †

It will be noticed that the wording of both is nearly similar though there is a little change in the order. But the Ms. is more correct and does not quote Amara here though it does so occasionally elsewhere.

The last verse 22 :— V. L. आलम्ब्य । V. L. आलम्ब्य [विद्यासागर]

भावानुरक्तवनितासुरतैः शपेयमाच्चम्य बांबु तृषितः करकोशपेयं ।

जीयेय येन कविना यमकैः परेण तस्मै वहेयमुदकं घटखर्परेण ॥ २२ ॥

ताराचंद्रः—कविः प्रतिज्ञामाह । भावेति । भावानुरक्तमिति येन परेण कविना यमकैः जीयेत । तस्मै कवये घटखर्परेण उदकं वहेयं । तस्य किंकरो भवामीत्यर्थः । तत् सर्वं जीयेयतदा मयैवाहं जीयेय इति प्रतिज्ञाद्वीकरणार्थं शपथं प्राह कालिदासः भावानुरक्तवनितासुरतैः भावेन स्वभावेन अनुरक्ता रागयुक्ता सा चासौ वनिता तस्याः सुरतानि तैः शपथं करोमि इत्यर्थः । यदि प्रतिज्ञा पालयसि चेत् तृषितः पिपासितः करकोशपेयं करसंपुटेयं अ (अं) बु जलं च आलम्ब्य प्राप्य शपथं करोमीत्यर्थः । इति श्री. म. म. विरचितायां घ० ऋतुवर्णनं समाप्तम् । सटीकम् । समाप्तम् ॥ निधिगजांगमृगांकमिमे शके (१६८९) । शरदिसर्वजितिमदलेखकैः । तपसि कृष्णदले स्मरजिति शशिसुतेऽद्वैतविलंबितवृत्तम् ॥

New MS. :— भावेति । येन परेण कविना अहं यमकैः जीयेय तस्मै घटखर्परेणाहमुदकं वहेयं तस्य किंकरो भवेयमित्यर्थः । यद्यहं जीयेय तदा मयैवाहं जीयेय । एतां प्रतिज्ञां कीदृशीं करणार्थं शपथद्वयं प्राह कविः । भावानुरक्तवनितासुरतैः भावेन चित्तेन परमार्थेनानुरक्ता रागयुक्ता सा च वनिता तस्याः सुरतैस्तानि न प्राप्नुयामिति । यदि प्रतिज्ञां न पालयति तृषितः पिपासितः करकोशपेयं हस्तपुटपातव्यं अंबु जलं आलम्ब्य प्राप्य शपथं कुर्वे इति ॥ २२ ॥

इति श्री महाकविकालिदासकृतं घटखर्पराख्यं काव्यं समाप्तं । इदं पुस्तकं घटखर्पराख्यं दिवा समाप्तं जातं । बहुधान्यनामसंवत्सरे आषाढमासे कृष्णपक्षे चतुर्थ्यां घटखर्पराख्यं काव्यं शेषमाणकेश्वरेण समाप्तं कृतं । श्री महा-त्रिपुरसुंदर्यार्पणमस्तु । श्रीगुरवे नमः ।

Madhurā Tika's explanation is better than either [See appendix].

Here also the new Ms., besides being more correct and explicative, presents dissimilarities more prominently than similarities. While the chronogram verse is absent in the second, the colophons of the two are altogether different, the first though alluding to Kālidāsa does not mention his name at the end and the second does quite the reverse. Besides the first states ऋतुवर्णनं समाप्तम् and not घटखर्पराख्यं काव्यम् as is done in the second.

Thus the differences in the two commentaries in spite of similarities, are so prominent that to imagine them to have arisen from the fancies of copyists only, is difficult to believe.

† किं कृत्वा निचितं उपेत्य आगत्य तथा सलिलैर्जलैर्निहितं स्थापितं किं तत् रजो धूलिः कस्यां क्षितौ भूमौ । तथा रविचंद्रावपि नोपलक्षितौ मेघैराच्छादित्वा दृष्टौ ॥

A complete and full comparison of the two will, I think, decide the point against such a surmise. Unfortunately it could not be done here for want of full text of Tārācandra's commentary.

Seṣamānakeśvara mentioned in the new Ms. appears to be a mere copyist and not the commentator. The age of the copy cannot be determined as the specific year of the Bahudhānya Saṁvatsara is not stated.

Conclusion :—The Ms. is more correct and explicative and although it has many similarities to that of Tārācandra still both are not the same and identical. The age of the copy of the new Ms. must be about 200 years.

After a close comparative study of this and Vidyāsāgara's Tīkā, I am of opinion that this is superior to the latter in the following points :—

- I (a) It gives logical connections between the verses and context by a short introduction where necessary, e.g., the commentary states that the first verse is to be connected with the 6. Their logical connection is nicely explained at the outset and in the Tīkā of the 6. This is not done in the other.

- (b) The connection between the 7 and 8 is given by a fine introduction without which the full sense cannot be appreciated :—

हे तोयदाः यदा दयितो गतः तदा यूयमागताः स्थेति पूर्वश्लोके उक्तं । इदानीं वदति विश्वोपकारकाः मेघाः भवतीति हेतोर्भवतः संदेशहरत्वेन ममोपकारं कुर्वन्तु ॥ इ.

- (c) It explains the propriety of certain statements e.g.

verse 14 कामे धनुः स्पृशति तेन विनाशितेषु । एतेन उक्तं भवति वर्षाकाले बलवान् कामः इति ।

verse 15. मदनस्य कृते मदनार्थं निकेतकानां गृहाणां । एतेन वर्षाकाले केतकीकुसुमानि सुधीनि भवन्ति । तेषु कामो वसति ।

- II. Its interpretations in many places are more ingenious and appropriate e.g.,

- (a) निद्राभ्युपैति च हरिं सुखसेवितारं ॥ ३ ॥ निद्रा च पश्चादभ्युपैति प्राप्नोति कं हरिं विष्णुं कीदृशं सुखसेवितारं सुखं सेवते अनुभवतीति सुखसेविता तं सुखसेवितारं । अथवा निद्रा कथं भूता सुखसेविता सुखेन कल्याणेन सेविता आश्रिता अरं शीघ्रं अभ्युपैति । लघु क्षिप्रमरं द्रुतं इत्यमरः ॥

- (b) Verse 11. प्रोषिता हृदयशोकलापिनः कलापिनः ।

विद्यासागरः—प्रोषिताः प्रवासिनः हृदयस्य शोकेन लपन्ति विलपन्ति तथोक्ताः ।

नवीना टीकाः—प्रोषिता गतभर्तृका तस्या हृदयं तत् शोकं लपितुं शीलं येषां ते

This is certainly better than the first.

- (c) Verse 21. प्रत्याययौ स गृहभूनदिनैः अमोघैः ।

विद्यासाः—अमोघैः विलंबरहितैः इति भावः । ऊनदिनैः अल्पदिनैः ।

न. टीकाः—अबधि दिवसेभ्यः कतिपयैः ऊनैः न्यूनैः अत एव अमोघैः सफलैः गृहं प्रत्याययौ आगतवान् ।

In the first explanation the idea is repeated. In the second propriety of the two words is shown separately. Similarly there are several expressions better interpreted in the new Tika. It is not possible to quote them here. Verses 6, 7, 15 and 20 are some more examples.

III. The various readings adopted in the new Ms. are very important as they yield better sense than those adopted by Vidyāsāgara. In all the V. L. are about 14 in number. Only a few are given below by way of sample :—

Verse 7 :— मारयिष्यथ हतेन मां विना । V. L. मारयिष्यथ ह ! तेन मां विना ।

Verse 15 :— सुसुगन्धतया वने जितानां । V. L. नव बारिकणैर्विराजितानाम् ।

Verse 16 :— तत् साधु यत् त्वां सुतर्हं ससर्ज । V. L. सुतरां ससर्ज

Verse 21 :— स्वं स्वारवेण कथितं जलदैरमोघैः V. L. । साध्वीभिरेव मुदितं जलदैरमोघैः ।

The second readings, that is, of the new Ms. are certainly better. It is needless to discuss them here.

IV. All compounds are dissolved and Amara is quoted occasionally. No examples of these are needed.

No. 15 Madhurā Ṭikā is simple and points out some beauties as says the commentator.

रसिकानां हिताय वै । करोमि मधुरां टीकाम् ।

It will be agreed from what has been said so far that the new Ms. is a valuable acquisition in various ways.

§ 2. THE POEM.

From the commentary I now turn to the poem on which it is a commentary.

The subject-matter of the poem is extremely slight, almost nil. A lady whose husband is abroad becomes smitten with passion, as is usual in Sanskrit poetry, at the advent of the rainy season and seeing clouds in the sky sends through them her message to her husband to return home soon. The clouds accordingly do the mission and husband returns home before long.

The subject-matter is spread over 22 verses as follows :—Verses 1 to 6 are introductory, contain description of the rainy season, of the pleasures of those who enjoy company of their husbands and the grief of those who are separated from them. Verses 7 and 8—the heroine sees the clouds and delivers her message. Verses 9 to 21—the poet gives natural description of the rainy season—the green grass, the flowering trees, and the joyfully screaming birds etc.—which excites her passion and renders her condition pitiable. The clouds deliver the message and the lover on hearing it, returns home before his time. Verse 22 :—The last verse contains his famous oath—that whoever would excel him in the Rhymes, to him he would bear water in a piece of broken jar.

This poem evidently belongs to that popular species of lyrical poetry which is called "sandeśakāvya" or "dūtākāvya". Its origin goes so far back as the R̥gveda, where Śaramā is sent on message to Paṇi. In the two great epics, Rāma is seen sending Hanūmān to Sītā and Yudhiṣṭhira sending Śrī Kṛṣṇa to Duryodhana and Nala sending Haṁsa to Damayantī, with their respective messages. Rāma's message was a source of inspiration to Kālidāsa, who has very skillfully alluded to it in his *Meghadūta* :—

इत्याख्याते पवनतनयं मैथिलीवोन्मुखी सा । [उ. मे. 37]

Kālidāsa had to justify his employment of cloud as a messenger by saying :—

कामातां हि प्रकृतिकृपणाः चेतनाचेतनेषु । [पू. मे. 5]

With a well-thought-out plan giving the cause of separation, its duration, the exact locations of the lovers, their marks of identification, employment of cloud as a messenger, after a hearty welcome, its well-chalked-out path, natural description of the rainy season, beautified by all poetic conventions, the apt allusions from history and the Purāṇas—and exhibiting in all this his high imagination and consummate art—the poem has stood unrivalled in the whole range of Sanskrit Literature.

Bhāmaha,¹ a famous rhetorician of the 7th Century, has found fault with such impropriety of employing cloud, wind, moon, bee or parrot as messengers. In spite of this

1.

अयुक्तिमथवा दूता जलभृन्मार्हतैर्दवः ।

तथा भ्रमरहारीतचक्रवाकशुकादयः ॥ १०४२ ॥

अवाचो युक्तावाचश्च दूरदेशविचारिणः ।

कथं दूतं प्रपथेरन्निति युक्त्वा न युज्यते ॥ १०४३ ॥

dictum several later poets² have written Dūtakāvya in imitation of *Meghadūta*. Bhavabhūti also has used a cloud messenger in his *Mālati-Mādhava*.

It is said that imitation is an index of the high excellence and popularity of a poem. And in this respect Kālidāsa has enjoyed highest popularity as is referred to above. But that this little poem should have been conspicuously imitated at least by one poet reflects no small credit on Ghaṭakharpara. A poet called Yādava has composed a poem 'Kṛṣṇa Līlā' by name in the year 1624 A.D. It consists of two pairs of Rhyming lines, one of the lines being taken from Ghaṭakharpara so that 4 consecutive verses of this poem give an entire verse of Ghaṭakharpara.³

Ghaṭakharpara falls far short of *Meghadūta*, in point of well-ordered plan, its skilful execution, and its fine imagery. In some respects it presents a direct contrast to it as shown below :—

1. In Ghaṭakharpara it is the heroine who sends the message and not the hero.
2. She gives an ominous welcome and in the same breath commands the clouds to carry the message.
3. She does not select a particular cloud but addresses all clouds collectively. This produces vagueness.
4. She gives no hint as to what destination the message is to be taken and no marks of identification of her husband. This adds to the vagueness.
5. Repetition of ideas and expressions occurs, e.g.

(a) रविचंद्रावपि नोपलक्षितौ V. 1. ॥ निशामुखान्यय न चंद्रवन्ति । V. 2. ॥

नभोवितारं V. 3. ॥ छादिते दिनकरस्य भावने V. 6. ॥

(b) हंसा नन्दन् मेघभयात् द्रवन्ति । V. 2. ॥ हंसपंक्तिरपि नाथ संप्रति । प्रस्थिता वियति मानसं प्रति ॥ V. 9. ॥

(c) नवांबुमत्ताः शिखिनो नर्दन्ति । V. 2. ॥ मेघशब्दमुदिताः कलापिनः । V. XI
अंबुदैः शिखिगणो विनाद्यते । V. X. ॥

(d) सेंद्रायुधश्च जलदः । V. 3. ॥ सेंद्रायुधांबुधरगर्जितदुर्दिनेषु । V. 20. ॥

(e) चातकोऽपि तृषिर्नोऽबु याचते ॥ V. 9. ॥ वारि विंदति चातकोऽमलं । V. X. ॥

This bespeaks of the poverty of thought and expression of the poet.

6. Kālidāsa has used one metre only viz., Mandākrāntā throughout his poem, but here the poet has used 9 different metres. They are :—

7 रथोद्धता; 6 वसंततिलकम्; 2 द्रुतविलंबितं; 2 सुंदरी and इंद्रवज्रा, एकरूप, पुष्पिताग्रा, माल्यभारा, उपजाति only once.

He shows admirable mastery over metres. They are all faultless and well adapted to convey his plain and simple thoughts.

There are similarities also between the two poems, some are given below :—

1. Both the poems develop प्रवास-विप्रलंभशृंगार. But whereas Kālidāsa freely indulges in उत्तानशृंगार Ghaṭakharpara nowhere crosses the boundary of decorum and propriety.
2. While *Meghadūta*'s time is given at the beginning as आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे we have 11th day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, in Ghaṭakharpara as is to be infer-

2. श्रीरूपगोस्वामिविरचितं हंसदूतकाव्यं १४२ शिखरिणी । म.म.श्रीकृष्णसार्वभौमविरचितं पदांकदूतकाव्यं ४६ मंदाक्रांता । माधवकवीद्रभट्टाचार्यकृतं “उद्धवदूतं” १४१ मंदाक्रांता ॥ नेमीदूत; पवनदूत; कोकिलदूत; मनोदूत; इंद्रदूत; रथांकदूत etc.

3. *H. Sk. Lit.* by H. D. Chariar, Chap. XIII.

red from निद्राभ्युपैति च हरिं सुखसेवितारं ॥ V. 3 ॥⁴ This fact is referred to by Kālidāsa शापांतो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ (उ. मे. 47) while intimating the date on which the curse was to end.

3. The same poetic conventions declaring the advent of the rainy season are used in both the poems. e.g. the flowering of कुटज, केतक, कदंबक, नीप, सर्ज and यूथिका and Hamsa's going to Mānasa Lake, the Cātakas drinking rain drops and trum-peting and dancing peacocks.

4. The description of प्रेषितभर्तृका is similar in both the poems e.g. पांडुगंडपतिताल-कांतया (घट १२) लंबालकत्वादिन्दोर्दैन्यं । उ. मे. १२ ॥ गंडाभोगात् कठिनविषमामेकवेणीं करेण ॥ उ. मे. २९ ॥

Now let us examine his Yamakas to find out how far his boast is justified in that respect. Yamaka is defined as 'स्वरव्यंजनसमुदायपौनरुक्त्यं यमकम् ॥⁵' when more syllables than one are repeated in the same order, in which they first occurred, but in a different sense there is a Yamaka. They are of various kinds. Bharata has mentioned 10 kinds in his *Nāṭya Śāstra*. But Bhāmaha has given only 5. It is customary to use these in one of the cantos of a Mahākāvya. Kālidāsa has shown his fondness for them in the 9th canto of *Raghu-Vamśa*. He has used Yamakas of 3 syllables at the beginning of the 4th Pāda of each verse in that canto, e.g.

यमवतामवतां च धुरि स्थितः । प्रमदया मदयापित लज्जया ।

रविरलं विरलं कृतवान् हिमम् । कुमुमितासु मित्ता वनराजिषु ।

These are really very sweet and musical.

Bhāravi who lived about the 5th century A.D. has similarly used Yamakas of various kinds in the 15th canto of his *Kirāta-Arjuniya*. He has used them at the end of the 4th Pāda in some verses e.g.

पराङ्मुखतया तया । कृतोच्चैर्वा नरं नरम् । शरेभ्यस्तत्र तत्रसुः ।

But not satisfied with this he has used all sorts of intricate ones e.g. एकाक्षरपाद (10); समुद्र-यमक (16); प्रतिलोम-अनुलोमपाद (18-21) सर्वतोभद्र-चित्रबंध (25) शृङ्खलायमक (42) पादाद्यन्तयमकं and so on. Naturally the more complicated they are the more meaningless they become.

Now Ghatakharpāra has used Yamakas only at the end of each line, the first two and the last two lines Rhyming together in all verses except the second in which all the four lines Rhyme. (अत्र सर्वपादांतयमकं) This method of Rhyming couplets has become almost essential in Marāṭhi poetry. And Vāman Paṇḍit and Moropant have been famous for their Rhymes. But this is rarely found in Sanskrit. Nay I have not come across with any other poem in such Rhymes, except the one under consideration.

Ghatakharpāra has used 36 Rhymes in his 22 verses in all. Of these 5 are of 2 letters, 31 are of 3 letters, 7 of 4, 1 of 5 and 2 of 6 letters. Among these only 3 are repeated and there is nothing charming about them, e.g. (a) विनाद्यते 10; — साद्यते 11; (b) मांविना—तेनविना (c) कदाहं—शोकदाहं 14 सदाहं—किं सदाहं A few are mediocre while many are quite melodious. One or two examples of the latter are given below :—

V 3 सेंद्रायुधश्च जलदो धरसन्निभानां । संरंभमावहति भूधरसन्निभानां ।

V 8 ब्रूत तं पथिकपांशुलं घनाः । यूयमेव पथि शीघ्रलंघनाः ।

V 20 रत्युत्सवं प्रियतमैः सह मानयंति । मेघागमे प्रियसखीश्च समानयंति ।

4 शेते विष्णुः सदाषाढे भाद्रे च परिवर्तते ।

कार्तिके प्रतिबुध्येत शुक्लपक्षे द्वेदिने ॥ इति मत्स्यपुराणे ॥

5 भरत-नाट्यशास्त्र 16, 51-63. Quoted from Kane's His. Alamkar M. V. P. 53.

Having no narration and plan, betraying poverty of thought and expression, and exhibiting no high flights of fancy and imagination, this poem is but a mediocre production. Still it is a short sweet poem, possessing the merits of Prasāda and Mādhurya in an eminent degree and made musical owing to its charming Rhymes, interspersed with graceful alliterations. Its style is chaste, pure and simple. It is this that has made it so popular. The self-praise of the poet is justified only so far that his Rhymes are melodious and unlaboured. In short his poetry is free but not excellent as some critics would like to call it.⁶

§ 3. FROM THE POEM TO THE POET.

Nothing is definitely known about the personal history and time of Ghaṭakharpara, as is usual in the history of Sanskrit literature. Another work called *Nītisāra* in 21 stanzas is ascribed to him. But as there is nothing distinctive in the verses, it does not strengthen his identity. Jivānanda Vidyasagar's *Kāvya-saṃgraha* part 1 (ed. 1888) contains a *Nītisāra*, which is just printed after *Ghaṭakharapaṇa Kāvya* and is attributed to him. But it is far from being the real work of the poet, as it is merely an anthology of *Subhāṣitas*. Chariar in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* tells us that it is a short didactic poem in the form of a dialogue, between a hog and a lion and the ideas are amusing.⁷

Then we find reference to the names Ghaṭa and Kharapara in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva, who wrote it between 1060 and 1081 A.D.⁸ There we are told that these friends joined hands in their thievish adventures. In one of these a princess fell in love with Kharpara whose indulgence in wine, one day led to the betrayal of his crime, for which he was ordered to be hanged. Ghaṭa on knowing the fate of his friend managed to clope with the princess. At the modest computation, at least 600 years must be supposed to have elapsed before this legend of romantic robbery should have gathered round the name of this romantic poet.

The poem owes its title to the oath contained in the last verse (quoted above), where the poet declares that he would bear water to any one, who would surpass him in Rhymes : and from its strange nature the name was transferred to the poet himself and his original name was lost. Histories of Sanskrit literature, Sanskrit Dictionaries and some commentaries such as those of Vidyāsāgara and Shāntisūri agree in giving the poet and the poem the same name viz., Ghaṭa-kharpara.⁹

The commentator Taracandra and the Ms. I have found, attribute this poem to Kālidāsa as already mentioned. Ketkar states in his *Jñānaśāstra* that Kālidāsa in his earlier days used to write under that pseudonym ; but this is not plausible since there is a great disparity in the style and diction of the two poets. Besides no evidence is adduced in support of these statements. Then there are others who make him a contemporary of Kālidāsa. They rely upon the famous verse about the 9 gems at the court of Vikramāditya, wherein Ghaṭakharpara is associated with Kālidāsa.¹⁰ But all these poets are now known to have lived at different periods separated by centuries from each other. Keith calls it a worthless legend,¹¹ while Macdonell thinks it to be a mere myth,¹² Yet strangely enough Keith quotes this very legend against Jacobi (page 201) and appears to believe in it at least to some extent.

Lastly there is another theory propounded by T. S. Nārayan Śāstry, in his introduction to *Ratnāvalī* that Bhāsa is the later name of Dhāvaka alias Ghaṭakharpara. In this identi-

⁶ Chariar—*H. Sk. Lit.* Ch. XIII.

⁷ Chapter XIII.

⁸ Chapter X 8. 43-70.

⁹ Vide Supra.

¹⁰

धन्वंतरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशकुन्वेतालभट्टघटखर्परकालिदासाः ।

ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

¹¹ P. 76.

¹² Chap. XI.

Time in order :—I 4th. Cent. III 6th. IV 8th. VII 4th or I B. C. VIII 6th IX 5th. Cent.

fication of Bhāsa with Ghatakharpāra he has relied upon *Kavi-Vimarsa* of Rājasekhara and *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Hemacandra. The passages under reference are given below :—

(1) कारणं तु कवित्वस्य न संपन्न कुलीनता ।

धावकोऽपि हि यद्भासः कवीनामग्रिमोऽभवत् ।

राजशेखरः क. वि.

(2) संप्रति परां काष्ठामारुढेनापि भासेन भूतपूर्वा स्वकीयदशा न विस्मृता । यतोऽनेन पूर्वचरितं घटखर्परेणो-
दकवाहनमेव प्रतिज्ञातं । प्रतिज्ञां चेमामसहमानाः परे कवः परिहसितुमनसो विक्रमार्कसभ्यमेनं भासं तच्चाति-
स्मारकघटखर्परनाम्ना व्यजन्तुः । क्रमेण च स एव व्यपदेशो भासमहाकवेः सुप्रसिद्धः संपन्नः ॥ हेमचंद्र का. शा.

If this tradition repeated by two poets of the 10th and 11th centuries, can be regarded as true Ghatakharpāra becomes the same as Bhāsa. And Kālidāsa himself has admitted him as his worthy predecessor.¹³

Pandit S. J. Joshi and Pandit Vishwanatha Shastri, place him between the 4th and 6th century, on the ground of his mention in the 9 gems tradition.

"Ghatakharpāra Kāvya is earlier than Kālidāsa is deduced by Jacobi from the fact of his boast, which later was not justified." This is quoted by Keith.¹⁴ I thoroughly agree with him since later poetry is more refined and artificial and the Rhymes used by later poets i.e., Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha and Harṣa, present more and more complicated and artificial forms. Some examples of Rhymes from Kālidāsa and Bhāravi are quoted above. They are certainly so refined and graceful that if Ghatakharpāra had seen them or had heard of them, he would never have dared to give that challenge as he did. Besides it is more plausible to suppose that Kālidāsa improved upon the original story of Ghatakharpāra and gave us his all finished excellent work of art called *Meghadūta*, than to suppose the reverse. These arguments certainly strengthen the opinion that Ghatakharpāra lived before Kālidāsa. If we add to this his plain and simple style and diction and his direct mode of expression, I believe, we shall have no hesitation in placing him along with Bhāsa if not identifying him with Bhāsa himself.

APPENDIX.

• After I had completed this paper I got one more *Ṭikā* called *Madhurā* by Pandit Rama Caritra, printed and published at Nirnayasāgara Bombay in 1914. Its main features are noted below :—

(1) It is in simple and plain modern Sanskrit without any display of erudition.

(2) It has made a fine attempt to explain the motive and argument of each verse, but in trying to find out the inner meaning of some expressions, the author has unnecessarily traversed into Kāmasāstra and has explained certain Āsanas e.g. verse 22.

(3) The readings adopted are nearly the same as those adopted in my new Ms. with a few exceptions. I mention only one which is decidedly better :—

सेंद्रायुधश्च जलदोऽतिरसन्निभानां । सरंभमावहति भूधरसन्निभानां ॥ सेंद्रायुधश्च—धरसन्निभानां

This reading is better as it gives good sense अतिरसन्, चंडशब्दं कुर्वन् ॥ although the Yamaka becomes 5 lettered instead of 6. The meanings of धरसन्—पर्वतगामी (विद्या); गर्जन (New Ms.) are not satisfactory.

(4) The *Madhurā* *Ṭikā* on verse 22 is in my opinion better than the other two quoted already. It runs thus :—

भावानुरुक्तेति । तृषितः पिपासितोऽहं परेणान्येन कविना यमकैः करणैः जीयेय पराजितो भवेयम् । तस्मै कवये घटखर्परेण स्फुटितकलशकपालेनोदकं पानीयं वहेयं प्रापयेय । कीदृशं जलं करकोशपेयं करावेव कोशः पात्रं तेन पेयं । नन्वत्र किं मानं कदाचित्त्वं न वहेरिति शपथमाह—भावेति । भावानुरक्तवनितासुरतैः शपेय शपथं कुर्याम् । किं कृत्वा अंबुजलमालभ्य संस्पृश्याऽर्यात् संकल्पार्थं जलं गृहीत्वा । यदि स्वमतिज्ञातं न प्रकुर्यां तर्हि तानि सुरतानि न प्राप्नुयामित्यभिप्रायः ।

¹³ प्रथितयशसां भाससौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीनां (धावकसौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीनां) प्रबंधानतिक्रम्य वर्तमानकवेः कालिदासस्य क्रियायां कथं परिषदो बहुमानः । मालविकामित्रे—प्रस्तावनायाम् ।

MIA. MISCELLANY

By Prof. H. C. BHAYANI

(1) *On the variants of the Purāṇic names 'Vṛṣṇi' and 'Dhṛṣṇu.'*

In the dynastic list of the Yādavas¹ twice we come across the name *Vṛṣṇi*. It is the name borne by the fiftieth and the fifty-second descendent counting from Manu Vaivasvat. As often, different Purāṇic texts give the names of these two descendants differently. For the fiftieth we find² (1) *Vṛṣṇi*, *Dhṛṣṇu*, *Dhṛṣṭi* and *Kroṣṭu*, while for the fifty-second we have (2) *Vṛṣṇi*, *Vṛṣṭi*, *Vahni*, *Dhṛṣṇu* and *Dhṛṣṭa*. Further the name of the twenty-eighth descendent presents³ three variants, (3) *Dhṛṣṭa*, *Dhṛṣṭi* and *Vṛṣṇi*. Taking these three groups together we find seven different names : *Vṛṣṇi*, *Vṛṣṭi*, *Vahni*, *Dhṛṣṇu*, *Dhṛṣṭa*, *Dhṛṣṭi*, *Kroṣṭu*. If the last name *Kroṣṭu* is set apart, it can be shown in the case of the rest that four of them are but linguistically developed variants of the remaining two which are the basic vocables.

In the group *Vṛṣṇi*, *Vani*, *Vṛṣṭi* the first is the source form. This *Vṛṣṇi* would become *Vanhi* or *Vanhi* in Prakrit. *Vanhi* is quite meaningless as a Sanskrit vocable and so it got confused with its nearest Sanskrit vocable *Vahni*. Similarly *Vṛṣṭi* is the result of the incompetent effort of the uneducated to pronounce the vocable *Vṛṣṇi*. Jacobi has shown⁴ that such a substitution of *ṣṭ* for *ṣṇ* in the popular mouth lies at the basis of MIA vocables like *Viṭṭku* (*Viṣṇu*), *Andhakaviṭṭhi* (*Andhakaviṣṇi*), *Naravaṇviṭṭhi* (*Narapatiṇviṣṇi*), *tiṭṭha* (*tiṣṇā*) and *tiṭṭhālu* (*tiṣṇālu*). It is quite pertinent to note that in the Jain version of the *Harivamśa* as given by Guṇabhadra in his *Uttarapurāṇa* we find the pseudo-Sanskrit forms *Andhakaviṣṭi* and *Narapatiṇviṣṭi*. In the light of this explanation it is not now difficult to see the connection between the vocable *Dhṛṣṇu* on the one hand and *Dhṛṣṭa* and *Dhṛṣṭi* on the other. *Dhṛṣṇu* would give **Dhṛṣṭu* which having been felt as unknown to Sanskrit would be changed to the familiar *Dhṛṣṭa* or *Dhṛṣṭi*.

(2) *Late Sk. 'aśvacalasthā' : horses' stable.*

In the glossary appended to his edition of the *Pañcākhyāna* (*Purnabhadra's Panchatantra*, HOS. 11) Hertel tentatively suggests 'horses' stable' as the meaning of *aśvacalasthā* occurring at p. 276, l. 15 in the *Pañcākhyāna*. That Hertel's conjecture is right and that the word *°calasthā* is merely a Sanskritization of the Deśya *°calatthā* (f.) is shown by *Sandేశarāsaka*,⁵ 169 b : *goāsanihi turangacalatthihi* which is rendered by the commentator as *gavāsane turangamaśālāsu*. The *Pañcākhyāna* is dated 1199 A.C., while the *Sandేశarāsaka* is composed about the 13th or 14th century A.C.

(3) *From the "Svayambhūcchandas."*

Svayambhūcchandas (Sc.) VIII 4 is taken from the *Paumacariu* (PC).

SC. VIII, 4 :

tāva paḍupaḍahapaḍipahaapahapaṅgaṇe
nāi suradunduhī diṇṇa gaṇaṅgaṇe
rasia saasapaṅkha gāanti varamaṅgalam
tivali dhadhānta ghummantavaramaddalam.

PC. XXIV, 2, 1-2 :

tāva paḍu paḍaha paḍipahaya pahu-ṇaṅgaṇe
nāi sura-dunduhi diṇṇa gayaṇaṅgaṇe

¹ See *The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Pt. I, Appendix I (Yādavas upto the Bhārata war), Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1943.

² *Op. cit.* p. 108, f.n. 85. Even one and the same Purāṇa shows similar variants, as can be seen from Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v. *Dhṛiṣṭa*, *Dhṛiṣṇa*.

³ *Glory*, p. 109.

⁴ See Alsdorf : *Harivamśapurāṇa*, p. 135 and Jacobi's paper 'Über eine ungewöhnliche vertretung von *ṣṇ* im Mittelindischen', IF. XLV, p. 168 ff., referred there.

⁵ This *Apabhramśa* poem is edited by Acharya Jinavijaya Muni and is to be shortly published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

rasia saya saṅkha jayaṃ mahāgondalaṃ
tivilaṃṭanta-ghumanta-vara-mandalaṃ

SC. VIII, 19 : recurs⁶ in the *Bappabhaṭṭisūricaritaṃ* of the *Prabhāvākaraṇa* (SJS. XIII) in a strange form and context. There it forms a part of the third and whole of the fourth line of the 'Vastuka' which is said to be interpreted by Bappabhaṭṭi in no less than one hundred and eight ways four out of these being actually given in the text.

SC. VIII, 19 :

Kaṇṇa paripāḍi | jaṇu jāṇai torā
cattai jo savai | tasu kamaṇu nīhorā

Prabhāvākaraṇa, p. 89, st. 297 :

tatti sialī melāvā kehā
dhaṇa uttāvalī priya mandasiṇhā |
virahihim māṇusu jaṃ marai *tasu kavaṇa nīhorā*⁷
kaṇṇi pavittaḍi jaṇu jāṇai dorā ||

SC. VIII, 19 is given as an illustration of the sixth type of Chaḍḍaṇiā defined at SC. VIII, 18 as containing 8 (= 4 + 4) morae in *a*, *c* and 10 (= 5 + 5) morae in *b*, *d*. Accordingly the printed text of SC. VIII, 19 requires its *paripāḍi* to be emended as *paripāḍi* and *jo* as *ju* or *jō*. As Svayambhū chooses this stanza to serve as an illustration for a definite metre and as one sat to write a metrical treatise and using the extant literature for the purpose would generally reproduce these illustrations in their original, unaltered form—at least in the case of Svayambhū there are sufficient grounds for such an assumption, it is most probable that the stanza in the *Svayambhūcchandas* is more original while that in the *Prabhāvākaraṇa* presents it in a 'worked-over' form. The compilatory character of the later work and its outright borrowing of numerous stanzas, at times in a slightly altered form, lends countenance to such a view.

(4) *Ap. Verse mistaken for Prose.*

The chances of mistaking as prose a piece in the Ap. metre Mātrā (or Raḍḍā) occurring in the midst of a prose passage appear to be not quite negligible. The unusual five-lined structure of this metre, its scant regard for rhymes and comparatively less striking nature of its rhythm are factors which make it easy for one to overlook the verse character of a passage in Mātrā occurring in prose surroundings. And in two cases at least such a thing has actually taken place. On pp. 87-88 of the *Tippaṇi* of the *Apabhraṃśapāthāvali* (ed. M. C. Modi, Ahmedabad, 1935), the editor has given a passage from the unpublished *Kuvalayamāla* of Udyotanasūri. This passage has been also given in the *Apabhraṃśakāvya-trayī* (ed. L. B. Gandhi, GOS. XXXVII, 1927), Introduction pp. 109-110. The editors of each of these works seem to have no idea that the passage in question may be in verse, while that appears to be just the case. In the absence of a critically edited text, not a few places in the passage in question are quite unclear, but for the most part there can be least doubt as to the verse character of the passage. Thus we read :

Eu ehaū hou manussāhā
savvu eu ayariū | tujjhaṇau vaṅku valiyau (?)
prāraddhaū eu prai | sugai bhrātu cara bhrātisamprai
jaṃ ji viraiu dhaṇalavāsāe
suhalampaḍeṇa eu māi | duthaṭṭhamaṇamohaluddhai
tuṃ samprati bolliyu | eu eu pāraddhu bhallau
ettha sujjai kira suvaṇṇampi
vaisāparamuhagayaū | re eu pau mittassa vanaṇa
kāmaḷiyavayadharanṇa | eu eu sujhejja nāhi
dhavalavāhaṇadhavaladehassa

⁶ I am indebted to Acharya Shri Jinavijayaji for drawing my attention to this identification.

⁷ *c* is metrically quite out of order and *pavittaḍi* in *d* appears to stand for *pavittaḍi*.

siri bhramati jā vimalajala | dhavalujjala sa bhaḍāri yadi
prāvesi tūhū(?) | mitra drojjhu to nāma sujjai.

When looked at in this form the pattern of the Mātrā metre in these lines cannot be mistaken. Again, the same blunder is committed by the editor of the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla (Kāvyamālā No. 85). Hemacandra has quoted in his *Chando'nuśāsana* (recent edition of its Pk. portion by H. D. Velankar in *BBRAS*, 19; 1943, p. 66) a Sk. Mātrā :

śuśka-śikhariṇi kalpaśākhiva
nidhiradhanagrāma iva | kamalakhaṇḍa iva marave'dhvani
bhavabhiṣmāranya iha | vikṣito'si muninātha kathamapi

The commentator points out that the source of this stanza is the *Tilakamañjarī* and indicates the context⁸ also. If one looks for this passage in the *Tilakamañjarī* it will be found on p. 218 (mid), where it is confused with prose and is considerably corrupt :

nidhiradanagrāma iva kamalakhaṇḍa iva ; mārave,
dhvanibhava bhīmāranya iha vikṣitōsi.
Muninātha, kathamapi drṣṭe bhavati etc.

THE ADI-PURĀṆA

By Dr. R. C. HAZRA

An *Ādya-* or *Ādi-purāṇa* is mentioned in most of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas and has been drawn upon extensively by almost all the Nibandha-writers. We have also got an *Ādi-purāṇa* preserved in Mss¹ and published by the Veṅkateśvara Press, Bombay. We

⁸ The commentary there reads at one place as *kumāsamaraketunā* for which the editor suggests *kumārāmara*^o with a query. But as the particular passage in the *Tilakamañjarī* shows, it should be *kumārasamara*^o.

¹ For Mss of the *Ādi-p.* see

(1) R. LL. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss*, II, pp. 18-20, No. 553 :

[This is an undated Ms written in Bengali characters and consisting of 25 chapters. It begins with verse I (jayati yaśodā-sūnuḥ etc.) of chap. 5 of the printed edition and ends with the concluding verse (idaṃ mayā te kathitaṃ mahādbhutaṃ etc.) of the latter. Its contents, as given by Mitra, agree generally with those of chaps. 5-29 of the printed edition.]

(2) Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, pp. 1184-85 :

[No. 3335.—This is a complete Ms written in Devanāgarī script and copied in 1799 A.D. It consists of 52 chapters, but its 52nd chapter, which deals with Kāmsa-vadha, is called the 51st in the final colophon (iti śrī-ādi-purāṇe nārada-śaunakādi-saṃvāde kāmsa-vadho nāmaikapāñcāśattamo'dhyāyāḥ samāptaḥ). It begins, like Mitra's Ms, with verse I of chap. 5 of the printed edition but contains a second introductory verse (na khalu bala-vilāsa^o etc.) which is not found in the printed edition. Its first 25 chapters have general agreement, as regards contents, with Mitra's Ms and with chaps. 5-29 of the printed edition. Of the remaining chapters, chap. 32 deals with Dhenuka-pūrva-janma-kathana, chap. 39 with Rāsa-kriḍā-vilāsa, chaps. 42-44 with the description of different kinds of Nāyakas and Nāyikās, chap. 45 with Nāma-māhātmya, and the rest with the different deeds and exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

No. 3336.—This Ms also is written in Deva-nāgarī script. It was copied in 1804 A.D. According to Eggeling, it is 'evidently a reproduction of the preceding Ms with all its mistakes, and an additional supply of its own.')

(3) H. P. Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, pp. 708-9 :

[No. 4072.—This is a complete Ms written in Nāgarī script and dated Samvat 1869 For a 'full description' of this Ms, Shastri refers to the *Ind. Off. Cat.*, No. 3335.

No. 4073.—This Ms also is complete. It is written in Nāgarī script and dated Samvat 1708. It consists of 51 chapters, of which the last one deals with Kāmsa-vadha. Its last colophon ends with the words 'samāptas cāyaṃ pūrva-khaṇḍaḥ'.]

(4) *Cat. of San. Mss in the Adyar Library*, Part I, p. 159.

(5) *List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss purchased by Order of Govt., and deposited in the Sans. College, Benares, during 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900 and 1901*, p. 185.

shall see below that these two *Ādi-purāṇas* are quite distinct in character and belong to different dates.

I

The *Ādi-p.*, published by the Venkateśvara Press, consists of 29 chapters, of which the first four are found neither in the Ms of the *Ādi-p.* noticed by R. L. Mitra, nor in those described by H. P. Shastri and Eggeling. It ends with the chapter on Yamalārjunabhaṅga (breaking of the pair of Arjuna trees), an exploit of the infant Kṛṣṇa at Vṇḍāvana. A comparison of this printed *Ādi-p.* with Shastri and Eggeling's Mss shows that the former does not represent the entire *Ādi-p.* but contains only a part of it. This fragmentary character of the printed edition is also shown by its chapter 6 which mentions the different incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa's life from his birth to his exploits at Mathurā and Dvāravatī. It is highly probable that Shastri and Eggeling's Mss also do not comprise the whole work known under the title '*Ādi-p.*', because these Mss end with Kṛṣṇa's exploits at Mathurā and record none of the incidents at Dvāravatī, and in the second of two complete Mss of the *Ādi-p.* described by H. P. Shastri, the final colophon ends with the words '*samāptaś cāyaṃ pūrva-khaṇḍaḥ*.' Of the *Uttara-khaṇḍa* of the *Ādi-p.* we know nothing at present. It seems to have dealt with Kṛṣṇa's exploits at Dvāravatī.

The printed *Ādi-p.*, which calls itself the essence of all the Purāṇas,² begins with the verse '*rajoṣe janmani sattva-vṛttaye*', the first two quarters of which are the same as those of the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī*. This introductory verse as well as a few others which follow it contain salutations to Viṣṇu and Vyāsa, of whom the former is described as '*cinmātra-rūpa*' and '*paramātma-rūpin*' and is called Brahman, when consisting of pure consciousness, and Māyeśvara, when taking the human form,³ while the latter, who is a form of Viṣṇu, is said to have divided the original Veda and given it to his disciples, to have composed a *Purāṇa-saṃhitā* after collecting the anecdotes (*itihāsa*) from the Veda, and to have written the *Brahma-sūtra* in order to elucidate the meaning of this *Purāṇa-saṃhitā*, the *Bhāgavata-p.* as a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*, and the present *Ādi-p.* to embody the essence of all these works.⁴ Next, after praising the Naimiṣa forest as the Viṣṇu-vana (forest of Viṣṇu) and the best of all holy places, this *Purāṇa* states that once Sūta came to the hermitage of Śaunaka in this forest during a twelve-year sacrifice instituted by the latter and was duly received by the sages. (Chap. 1). When Sūta took his seat, Śaunaka praised his presence as productive of immense good, asked him to take rest, and retired to the fire-sanctuary (*agni-grha*) to perform his own evening duties. (Chap. 2). When, after

(6) Stein, *Jammu Cat.*, p. 199.

(7) *Benares Sans. College Cat.*, pp. 329 and 337.

(8) R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sans. Mss* (1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, 1890-91), p. 10.

For short Mss on *Stava*, *Māhatmya* etc., claiming to be parts of the *Āi-p.*, see

(1) H. P. Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, pp. 709-710.

[No. 4074.—This is a complete Ms dealing with Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya. It consists of 7 folios and is written in Bengali characters of 'the early nineteenth century.' It is most probably an enlarged form of chap. 45 (on *Nāma-māhātmya*) of *Ind. Off. Cat.*, No. 3335. Its colophon runs as follows: *ity-ādi-purāṇe śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṃvāde śrīviṣṇor nāma-māhātmyaṃ samāptam*.

No. 4075.—This Ms. also is written in Bengali characters 'of the nineteenth century.' It begins with the same verse as that of the immediately preceding Ms and contains an inter-location between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. It thus seems to deal with Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya, although in its colophon the title of the work is given as '*Vaiṣṇavāmṛta*'.]

(2) A. B. Keith, *Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss in the Library of the Ind. Off.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 905 (*Citrakūṭa-māhātmya*) and pp. 905-6 (*Vitastā-stava*).

(3) Stein, *Jammu Cat.*, p. 199.

(4) Winternitz, *Cat. of South Indian Sans. Mss*, pp. 267-9, No. 198 (*Madhyama-bhāga* of the *Hemakūṭa-khaṇḍa* of the *Bharadvāja-saṃhitā* of the *Ādi-mahāpurāṇa*).

² See the chapter-colophons, in most of which this *Purāṇa* is called '*sakala-purāṇa-sāra-bhūta*'.

³ *Ādi-p.* 1, 2a—*brahmeti yasya nigamaḥ vivṛtaś cidamśo māyeśvaraḥ puruṣa-rūpa-dhara yadamśaḥ* |

⁴ *Ādi-p.* 1, 8-13.

taking rest, Sūta returned to Śaunaka in company with the sages, the latter described the evils of the Kali age⁵ and requested the former to tell them how people could get rid of these evils and to speak out, in connexion with Kṛṣṇa 'the lord of cowherdesses', the essence of the Purāṇas, Itihāsa, Dharmasāstras and the work of Bādarāyaṇa (i.e. the *Brahmasūtra*). (Chap. 3). The other sages also requested Sūta to speak on the way of attaining devotion to Hari. Consequently, Sūta saluted Kṛṣṇa (whom he described as 'cidānandamaya' and 'trimūrtika') and Vyāsa and consented to reproduce the *Ādi-purāṇa* which he heard from his teacher Vyāsa and which was the essence of all Sāstras. (Chap. 4).

In chap. 5 we are told that Vyāsa heard from Nārada this *Ādi-p.* which was proclaimed originally by Sanatkumāra.⁶ It is said that once, in course of his wanderings, Nārada came to Vyāsa's hermitage on the bank of the Sarasvatī and was warmly received there by Vyāsa's pupils, and that being requested by these pupils to speak on the means of getting rid of Viṣṇu-māyā which steepes the whole creation in nescience, Nārada spoke about Kṛṣṇa, who is one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and of whom he heard from Kumāra.⁷

Thus the topics of the present *Ādi-p.* have been introduced in the printed edition. The Mss of the *Ādi-p.*, on the other hand, make no mention of Sūta or Vyāsa but simply say that once, in course of his wanderings, Nārada came to Naimiṣāranya in order to see Śaunaka and others and had a warm reception from the sages living there. It was at their request to speak on the means of getting rid of Viṣṇu-māyā that Nārada narrated the contents of the present *Ādi-p.*

That the present beginning of the printed edition is due to a change made at later date by the addition of its first four chapters, is shown not only by Shastri and Eggeling's Mss of the *Ādi-p.* but also by the mention of Nārada and Śaunaka as interlocutors in the colophons of all the chapters from chap. 5 of the printed edition. It is to be noted that in chap. 5 of the printed edition Nārada speaks to Vyāsa and his pupils and not Śaunaka.

Though the beginning of the printed *Ādi-p.* is different from those of the Mss, it deals, like chaps. 1-25 of the latter, mainly with the story of Kṛṣṇa—the legendary account of the birth of Kṛṣṇa as well as of Baladeva, Vasudeva's eulogy of Kṛṣṇa and his removal of the new-born child to Nanda's house, the merry-makings in Nanda's house on the occasion of Kṛṣṇa's birth, the ceremony of naming Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva as performed by Garga, and the incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa's infancy, viz., his killing of the demoness Pūtānā and of the demon Tṛṇāvarta, his breaking of a cart, his childish sports with his foster-mother Yaśodā as well as with other cowherdesses (such as those of his stealing milk, curd and butter and sharing these with his associates, his breaking of utensils, his escape on more occasions than one from the midst of cowherdesses who tried to capture him, his passing the night with all the Gopikās separately in their respective houses, and so on), his defeat in a wrestling competition with Baladeva, and his breaking of a pair of Arjuna trees when he was tied by Yaśodā to a mortar.

In connexion with this story, the following topics have been dealt with in the printed edition :—the benefits of worshipping Kṛṣṇa by forsaking all contact with women ; characteristics of the devotees of Hari ; description and praise of Mathurā-maṇḍala, in which Vṛndāvana is situated ; praise of Vṛndāvana, which is called the most favourite place and the eternal abode of Kṛṣṇa and in which Kṛṣṇa's sports and exploits are always to be experienced through love and devotion ; characteristics of a love-messenger (dūtī) ; description of the Kali age ; a summary of the Rāmāyaṇa ; and Yaśodā's seeing the universe in Kṛṣṇa's mouth.

In order to glorify Kṛṣṇa, a few subsidiary stories have been introduced ; viz., Nārada's meeting with Viṣṇu in Śveta-dvīpa and the latter's narration of the story of ten sages

⁵ Speaking of the bad effects of the Kali age the *Ādi-p.* says that people will become non-believers and look upon the Śālagrāma as a piece of stone meant for measurement of weight, and that one's wife's brothers will be one's best advisers (*Ādi-p.* 3, 7 and 19).

⁶ *sanatkumāroktam idam purāṇam yato na kimcit param asti pūrvam | mayā śrūtam nāradaśo vadaryāṃ śraddhāḥkūṇā cādi-purāṇa-saṃjñam ||*

⁷ *Ādi-p.* 5, 3-13.

Ādi-p. 5, 2.

who meditated on Kṛṣṇa (the delighter of Gopikās—gopikā-ramaṇa) or Vṛndāvana in order to experience his sports; Nārada's bath in the Mānasa lake, his consequent attainment of an extremely beautiful female form, and his experience of Kṛṣṇa's allaying the jealous anger of Rādhā as well as of his Rāsa-līlā and other sports at Vṛndāvana with the Gopis, especially with Rādhā, the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu; Nārada's attainment of a male body by bathing in the Kṛṣṇa-gaṅgā and his experience of Kṛṣṇa's Vraja-līlā, which is 'nitya' (permanent) and in which Kṛṣṇa tends cattle with his friends and associates and is received in the evening by his foster-mother and other cowherdesses; Viṣṇu's narration to Brahmā of the story of his taking the form of a bee and describing the love-sports (prema-līlā) of the love-smitten (śṛṅgāra-rasa vihvala-mānasa) Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana with innumerable Gopis who are called the images of his own image (viz., Rādhā),⁸ with the mention of the lineage of Nanda and Rādhā⁹ as well as the names of the eight principal female friends of Rādhā, the principal Gopis¹⁰ who attend upon Kṛṣṇa, and Kṛṣṇa's associates (including Rādhā's four brothers named Vṛṣavṛdhnu, Maṇah-saukhyā, Stokakṛṣṇa and Sudāman) who play and tend cattle with him and never grow old or die; rebirth of Cārumatī, daughter of the sage Kālabhīru, as the demoness Pūtānā due to the curse of her husband Kākṣivat, who was offended with Cārumatī on account of her illicit connexion with a Śūdra; rebirth, in the form of the demon Tṛṇāvarta, of the Bhāgavata king Viśvaratha of Drāviḍa who gave trouble, under suspicion of thieving, to a Brahmin Vaiṣṇava who was returning at night after attending a 'kīrtana', and so on.

In Shastri and Eggeling's Mss of the *Ādi-p.* the story of Kṛṣṇa further continues up to the killing of Kāṁsa at Mathurā and includes the following incidents:—Kṛṣṇa's killing of Vatsāsura, Bakāsura, Aghāsura, Dhenuka, Pralamba and others, and his chastisement of the serpent Kālīyā; Brahmā's experience of Viṣṇu-māyā; Kṛṣṇa's uplifting of the mountain Govardhana, and his Rāsa-kṛīḍā; and so on. In these Mss there are also chapters on the praise of Gopis, the different kinds of Nāyakas and Nāyikās (including a section on svakiya-bheda-varṇana), the glories of the name of Kṛṣṇa (nāma-māhātmya), the description of the seasons Vasanta, Grīṣma, Śarat and Hemanta, and so on. There are also a few subsidiary stories such as that of the previous birth of the demon Dhenuka.

From the above-mentioned contents of the present *Ādi-p.* it is clear that this Purāṇa is solely dedicated to the promulgation of faith in Kṛṣṇa, who, unlike the other gods, is kind to both friends and foes. In this work Kṛṣṇa is regarded not only as an incarnation of Viṣṇu but as the Bhagavat himself¹¹ and the eternal Brahma. He is the individual and the supreme Soul,¹² and is both one and many. Though, in his supreme state, he is formless and has no beginning or end, he manifests himself in different forms through Guṇa. Being 'rasākṛṣṭa,' he sports permanently, at Vṛndāvana, with Gopis, especially with Rādhā who is called his Parā Vidyā, Parā Śakti, and Hlādinī Śakti¹³ and who does not seem to be his wedded wife, but no male can experience these sports unless he turns a female.¹⁴ Kṛṣṇa's Vraja-līlā, on the other hand, is said to be open to his male devotees. People are advised to devote themselves solely to the worship of Kṛṣṇa¹⁵ and to look upon women as obstacles in the way of their spiritual development. They are to practise love and devotion in such a way that they should always be ready to do good to others and should not be affected in the least or try for a remedy, even if they are insulted, oppressed,

⁸ *Ādi-p.* 10, 35-36 (....svabimbapratibimbena kṛīḍate vipinevipine' niśam).

⁹ Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛṣṇa, is said to be the youngest son of Citrasena, who, again, was the youngest son of Kālamedu, the great-grandson of Abhīrabhānu, the lord of Gopas, of Mahāvana. Rādhikā was born of Mānavī by Vṛṣabhānu, the great-grandson of Aśiṣeṇa (Aṣṭiṣeṇa?), the Mahāgopa, of the village Aṣṭigrama. (See *Ādi-p.*, chap. 12).

¹⁰ The long list of the names of these principal Gopis includes the following:—Mālatī, Madalāsā, Citrā, Vetravatī, Kalāvatī, Sunandā, Viśākhā, Śārikā, Mādhavī, Candrāvalī, Bhadrāvalī, Campāvatī, Tilottamā, Alayā and Tārāvalī.

¹¹ *Ādi-p.* 12, 13-163 and also 6, 7; 9, 58; and so on.

¹² *Ibid.*, 17, 74.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 13, 57-58.

¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 13, 52-53—nāvalokayitum śaktah pumstvena puruṣarṣabha |
atas tavādhikaro'sti śṛṅgāpasya varānane ||

¹⁵ *Ādi-p.* 26, 38 f.

beaten, or even killed by others.¹⁶ According to this Purāṇa, 'bhajana' (i.e. kīrtana), based on Prema and Bhakti, is the best way of Kṛṣṇa-worship and is superior to Yoga, Dāna etc.; and all the members of the four castes without distinction of age or sex, as well as Antyajās, Pulkasas and Mlecchas are entitled to worship Kṛṣṇa.¹⁷

The present *Ādi-p.*, as its contents show, can never claim an early origin. None of the numerous verses, ascribed to the '*Ādi-p.*' by Aparārka, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Ballālasena, Hemādri, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Narasiṃha Vājaṇeyin, Anantabhaṭṭa, Gadādhara and many other Nibandha-writers in their respective works, is found in the printed *Ādi-p.* It is only the *Haribhaktivilāsa* (of Gopālabhaṭṭa),¹⁸ the *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta* (of Sanātana),¹⁹ and a few other works of the later Vaiṣṇava writers which are found to have verses from the present *Ādi-p.* Though Mitra Miśra does not quote any verse from the present *Ādi-p.*, he must have been quite familiar with this work; because, after giving two lists of Upapurāṇas from the '*Kūrma-p.*' and the '*Brahmavaivarta-p.*', Mitra Miśra quotes *Mat.* 53, 59b-63 in support of the view that the Upapurāṇas originated from the major 'Purāṇas,' and then exemplifies this view by naming the *Nandikeśvara-p.*, *Ādi-p.* and *Devi-p.*, which, he says, were recognised as Upapurāṇas by great men (mahājana-parighṛtāni) and of which the first and the third are not mentioned in any of the two lists of Upapurāṇas given by Mitra Miśra. Hence it is sure that the '*Ādi-p.*' also (which Mitra Miśra recognised as an Upapurāṇa, because it was recognised as such by great men) must be different from the first Upapurāṇa which is mentioned in the lists with the words 'ādyam sanatukumāroktam' and 'ādyam sanatukumāram ca' respectively. A comparison between the printed *Ādi-p.* and the present *Brahmavaivarta-p.* shows that the story of Kṛṣṇa, as given in the latter work, is decidedly of a later date. On the other hand, the present *Ādi-p.* holds the Tulasi plant in high esteem and seems to have known the tyranny of the Muhammadans in India.²⁰ Hence this Purāṇa should be dated between 1200 and 1525 A.D.

¹⁶ *Ādi-p.* 8, 16-18—

kṣiptāvamānitā dhvastās tāḍitāḥ pīditā api |
na vikriyā prabhavati pratikāram na kurvate ||
hitam kurvanti sarveṣāṃ karuṇā dina-vatsalāḥ |
titikṣavo'pavāco hi mahānto lokapāvanāḥ |
te priyāḥ śrīharer bhaktāḥ prema-mādhvika-makṣikāḥ ||

¹⁷ *Ādi-p.* 28, 52—sarve'dhikāriṇa varṇa āśramāḥ śiśavaḥ striyāḥ ||
antya-jāḥ pulkasā mlecchā ye cānye pāpa-yonayah ||

¹⁸ On p. 524 of his *Haribhaktivilāsa* (ed. Śyāmacaraṇa Kaviratna, Calcutta) Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes, from an *Ādi-p.*, nine verses on the praise of devotees of Kṛṣṇa, and on pp. 612, 634, 678 and 683 he quotes from the same source thirteen more verses on Kṛṣṇa-nāma-māhātmya. In quoting some of these verses he uses the words ādi-purāṇe śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṃvāde. We have already noted that in the Ms. of the *Ādi-p.* described by Eggeling in his *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1184-85 (No. 5335) there is a chapter (viz., chap. 45) which deals with Nāma-māhātmya, and that H. P. Shastri describes in his *ASB Cat.*, V, p. 709 (No. 4074) a Ms. which deals with Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya, has Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna as the interlocutors, and claims to be a part of the *Ādi-p.* (Note the colophon of this Ms which runs as follows: ity ādipurāṇe śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṃvāde śrīviṣṇor nāma-māhātmyam samāptam). Hence Gopālabhaṭṭa's knowledge of the present *Ādi-p.* cannot be doubted.

¹⁹ The *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta* (ed. Balai Chand Goswami and Atul Krishna Goswami, Calcutta 1304 B. S.) quotes from the *Ādi-p.* nine verses in which Kṛṣṇa speaks to Arjuna on the praise of the votaries of Kṛṣṇa, of the devoted Gopikās, and of Vṛndāvana, and one of which is the same as a verse quoted from the *Ādi-p.* in *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 524. These verses must have been taken either from the chapter on Nāma-māhātmya of the extant *Ādi-p.* or from the section on Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya which claims to be a part of the *Ādi-p.*

The *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, which consists of two Khaṇḍas—Pūrva and Uttara named as Kṛṣṇāmṛta and Bhaktāmṛta respectively, must be the same as the 'Bhāgavatāmṛta' which Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja ascribes to Sanātana and from which he learnt bhakti-tattva and Kṛṣṇa-tattva. See Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, ed. Nityasvarūpa Brahmācārī, Calcutta 1330 B. S. III, p. 111—sanātana kaila grantha bhāgavatāmṛte | bhakti tattva kṛṣṇa-tattva jāni yāhā haite ||. But in the introduction to their edition of the *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta* Balai Chand Goswami and Atul Krishna Goswami say that this work was written by Rūpa Gosvāmin.

²⁰ *Ādi-p.* 14, 139-140—

asurā yavanāṃśeṣu jātā lokopatāpinaḥ |

Though a late work, the printed *Ādi-p.* does not attach itself as a part to any Mahā-purāṇa, but claims to be the same as the earlier *Ādi-p.* which was spoken out by Sanat-kumāra. It is needless to say that this claim is wholly untenable. Even the verse, in which this claim has been put forth by the printed edition, occurs in Shastri and Eggeling's Mss in a quite different form²¹ without any mention of Sanatkumāra or of the earlier *Ādi-p.*

In the present *Ādi-p.* there is mention of the use of bracelets of conch-shell by women,²² of a proverb in the line 'ādaṁ ca sakhi hrtvā gāṁ vinayo na virājate',²³ of the word 'gāli' used in the sense of 'reproach' on several occasions,²⁴ of marking a child on the forehead with collyrium for saving it from the harmful effect of others' sight, and of tying a tiger-nail and a hymn of Rāma to a child's neck for saving it from the influence of evil spirits.²⁵ These, as well as the fact that some of the ideas and practices²⁶ of Caitanya of Navadvīpa are found mentioned in the present *Ādi-p.*, tend to create a faint impression that this Purāṇa, like the chapters on Mathurā-māhātmya of the *Varāha-p.*, was the work of a disciple of Caitanya; but we have already seen that the *Haribhaktivilāsa* and the *Laghu-bhāga-vatāmṛta* have quoted verses from the present *Ādi-p.*, which, therefore, must have been written much earlier than Caitanya.

II

Quite different from our present *Ādi-p.* was the earlier *Ādya-* or *Ādi-p.* which is mentioned in most of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas²⁷ and in which Sanatkumāra was the speaker. It seems that Sanatkumāra reported to a king, most probably to Yudhiṣṭhira,²⁸ what he had heard from Vyāsa.²⁹ That the earlier *Ādya-p.* and *Ādi-p.* were identical, is shown by the following facts: (1) the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* (25, 23) names the first Upapurāṇa as '*Ādi-p.*'³⁰; (2) while enumerating the works used in writing his *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara*, Ballālasena names an '*Ādya-p.*'³¹ but then this Purāṇa is referred to or drawn upon by him, it is mentioned as '*Ādi-p.*'; (3) in a particular work the same verses are sometimes found ascribed to the '*Ādi-p.*' in some Mss and to the '*Ādya-p.*' in others³²; (4) in some of the long citations from the '*Ādi-p.*' in the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* Sanatkumāra appears as the speaker³³; and (5) in their commentaries on Raghunandana's *Mālmāsātattva* Kāśīrāma Vācaspati and Rādhāramaṇa Gosvāmi-bhaṭṭācārya take the '*Ādya Sanatkumārōkta*' (Purāṇa), mentioned in a list of Upapurāṇas derived by Raghunandana from the '*Kaurma*', to mean the '*Ādi-p.*'³⁴ This *Ādya-* (or *Ādi-*) *purāṇa* was also

aniti-niratāḥ sarve saṁgrāhe ca prabuddhayaḥ ||
palāyamānās teṣāṁ hi prajāḥ syur api pīditāḥ ||
prāpur deśāntaraṁ cāpi kvacin na sukhitaḥ ||

²¹ viz., idam purāṇam paramādibhūtaṁ yato na kimcit param asti pūrvam |
śrīnārādenābhihitam tu naimiṣe śraddhālave bhārgava-śaunakāya ||
(see *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1184).

²² *Ādi-p.* 26, 3 and 5.

²⁴ *Ādi-p.* 16, 17; 25, 33 and 57.

²⁵ Cf. *Ādi-p.* 18, 130—

drṣṭi-doṣa-nivārāya bhāle kajjalakam kuru |
kaṇṭhe vyāghra-nakham caiva rāma-nāmāṅkitam stavam ||

²⁶ See *Ādi-p.* 8, 16-18 and 19-23; 10, 35-36; and so on.

²⁷ For these lists see *ante*.

²⁸ In a verse of the '*Ādi-p.*' quoted in Mādhavācārya's *Parāśara-bhāṣya* I, ii, pp. 326-7 the speaker addresses the hearer as 'Bhārata', and in the verses ascribed to the same Purāṇa in Devanabhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā* V, pp. 194-201 the hearer is addressed as 'Rājendra', 'Mahārāja', 'Kuru-nandana' and 'Yudhiṣṭhira'. See also Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddha-viveka* fol. 24a (*ādi-purāṇe—yeyam dipānvitā rājan etc.*).

²⁹ In *Sūddhi-kāumudī*, p. 40 and *Hāratalā*, p. 117 verses have been quoted from the '*Ādi-p.*' with the words 'ādi-purāṇe vyāsaḥ.'

³⁰ See *ABORI*, XXI, p. 47, footnote 1.

³¹ See *Dānasāgara*, fol. 2a and *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 2.

³² See, for instance, Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, p. 870.

³³ *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II, ii, pp. 518 and 763-8.

³⁴ *Mālmāsātattva* (ed. *Caṇḍīcarāṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa*), p. 213—sanatkumārōktaṁ ādi-purāṇam (Kāśīrāma Vācaspati); ādyaṁ ādi-purāṇam (Rādhāramaṇa Gosvāmibhaṭṭācārya).

called 'Sanatkumāra'³⁵ and 'Sanatkumāriya'³⁶ and also perhaps 'Sanatkumāroktā'³⁷ or 'Sanatkumāra-prokta',³⁸ from the name of its chief interlocutor.

The earlier *Ādya-* (or *Ādi-*)*purāṇa* occupied a very exalted position among the *Upapurāṇas*, so much so that it is assigned the first place in almost all the lists of eighteen *Upapurāṇas* as well as in that list of eighteen 'Purāṇas' which Alberuni committed to writing from dictation.³⁹ Alberuni's list, (which consists partly of *Mahāpurāṇas* and partly of *Upapurāṇas*, viz., *Ādi*, *Narasimha*, *Nanda*, *Ādiya* etc.) shows that by the end of the tenth century A.D. the *Ādi-p.* not only attained the position of being included in the list of eighteen 'Purāṇas' but became prominent enough to be named first of all. Hence the *Ādi-p.* must have preceded Alberuni by a fairly long time. The *Vāyu-p.* (chap. 104) mentions an '*Ādika-p.*' in a list of eighteen Purāṇas including the *Brahma-p.* (which is also sometimes called *Ādā-p.*); *Gaṅgādhara*, in his commentary on the *Dharma-saṃhitā*, quotes from '*Padma-purāṇa*, chapter 19' a metrical line which includes the *Sāva*, *Ādi-p.* and *Devi-bhāgavata* among the *Upapurāṇas*⁴⁰; and the present *Saura-p.* is said in its chap. 9 as well as in the *Revā-khaṇḍa* and the *Revā-māhātmya* to have formed the latter part of a complete work, of which the former part was declared by Sanatkumāra⁴¹ and which was, according to the *Revā-kh.* and the *Revā-māhātmya*, also widely known under the title '*Sanatkumāra*'.⁴² These, as well as the first position of the *Ādya-* (or *Ādi-*) *purāṇa* in all the comparatively early lists of eighteen *Upapurāṇas*, point to a still earlier origin of this *Purāṇa*. Hence this *Ādya-* (or *Ādi-*)*purāṇa* must be dated earlier than 700 A.D. As in some of the verses quoted from the earlier *Ādi-p.* there is mention of the law-giver Manu, as well as of the names of Rāsis and week-days,⁴³ this *Purāṇa* should not be placed before 500 A.D. It is probable that this *Purāṇa* was written during the sixth century A.D. This early origin of the *Ādi-p.* is supported by its non-Tantric character which is unmistakably indicated by the quotations made from it in the different *Smṛti Nibandhas* on *Vrata*, *Pūjā*, *Dāna* etc.

As not even a single Ms of the earlier *Ādya-* (or *Ādi-*)*purāṇa* has been found up to the present time, we shall try to give here some idea of its *Smṛti* contents on the basis of the verses quoted from it in the commentaries and *Nibandhas*. An examination of these verses shows that this *Purāṇa* dealt, among other topics, with the following:—Selection of countries which are habitable to the members of the four castes; good customs and usages; marriage; cremation; funeral ceremony; periods of impurity due to miscarriage, births and deaths; methods of purification; donations; *Vratas*; and omens and portents.

In his *Smṛti-candrikā* I, pp. 18-23 Devanabhaṭṭa quotes from the earlier *Ādi-p.* fifteen verses on the selection of a habitable tract of land. These verses show that this *Purāṇa* spoke of two kinds of countries,—*Dharma-deśa* and *Adharma-deśa*. The former was distin-

³⁵ See *Devi-bhāgavata* I, 3, 13, and the '*Brahmavaivarta-p.*' as quoted in the *Vira-mitrodaya*, *Paribhāṣa-prakāśa*, p. 14, wherein the first (prathama, *ādya*) *Upapurāṇa* is called *Sanatkumāra*. It is to be noted that in the great majority of the lists of eighteen *Upapurāṇas* the first *Upapurāṇa* is the '*Ādya*' declared by Sanatkumāra.

A '*Sanatkumāropapurāṇa*' is drawn upon in the *Śvārcana-dīpikā* which is later than the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. (See H. P. Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, III, p. 866, No. 2853).

³⁶ See *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 19, wherein Narasiṃha Vājaṇeyin gives a list of eighteen *Upapurāṇas* on the basis of that contained in the *Kūrma-p.* but names the first *Upapurāṇa* as '*Sanatkumāriya*' and not as '*Ādya*' like the *Kūrma-p.* See *ABORI*, XXI, p. 41 (footnote 1) and p. 40 (footnote 2).

³⁷ See the lists of *Upapurāṇas*, in most of which the first *Upapurāṇa* is mentioned with the words '*ādyam sanatkumāroktam*'. See also footnote 34 above.

³⁸ A good number of verses on *Ekādaśi* is ascribed to a work called '*Sanatkumāra-prokta*' in Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 773 and Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II, i, pp. 993-995, 998, 999, 1001-2 and III, ii, pp. 149, 160, 178, 181 and 184.

³⁹ Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 130.

⁴⁰ *śaivam ādipurāṇam ca devībhāgavatam tathā*—H. P. Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, p. 289.

⁴¹⁻⁴² See *New Indian Antiquary*, VI, p. 122, footnotes 38 and 39.

⁴³ See the verses ascribed to the '*Ādi-p.*' in *Parāśara-bhāṣya* II, ii, p. 321, *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 844, *Smṛti-candrikā* IV, p. 287, *Varṣakaumudī*, p. 9, and so on. See also the verse ascribed to a work called '*Sanatkumāra-prokta*' in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II, i, p. 998.

Manu is mentioned in a verse quoted in *Madana-pārijāta*, p. 456.

guished by the presence of antelopes, barley and Kuśa grass as well as of the four castes and orders of life and was to be resorted to by the wise, while the latter was to be shunned by them, because the twice-born could derive no benefit even by performing hundreds of sacrifices there; but the tract of land which lay along the banks of the Ganges was the most sacred of all. A person born in Āryāvarta, no matter whether he was a twice-born or not, was not allowed to go beyond the rivers Narmadā (in the south), Sindhu (in the north and west) and Karatoyā (in the east).⁴⁴ Any twice-born, who crossed the boundary of Āryāvarta for reasons other than visiting the holy places, was to purify himself by observing the Cāndrāyana-vrata. The people of Kañci, Kośala, Saurāṣṭra, and Devarāṣṭra, of the two countries known by the name Kaccha,⁴⁵ and of Sauvira and Koṅkaṇa were very much condemned (ninditā bhṛṣam); and an Ārya was advised not to reside permanently in those tracts of land which were watered by the 'five rivers' and were known by the name Aṛaṭṭa. People, who went beyond the Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāśī⁴⁶ and to the western side of Padma (? pāram padmasya paścimam) and lived there for a period longer than that required for visiting the holy places, were sure to visit the hells after death. No marriage or funeral ceremony, nor any sacrifice was to be performed in Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Vindhya and Mālavaka, in the countries lying on the south of the Narmadā, as well as in those on the north of the Sindhu, and in Pauṇḍra, Surāṣṭra, Caidya, Kerala and Magadha. If a twice-born chanced to go, out of his own accord and not for visiting holy places, to Saurāṣṭra, Sindhu, Sauvira, Āvantya, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Kalinga or other bordering countries, he was excommunicated and was to be purified by sacraments. These and other impious countries (pāpa-deśāḥ) were inhabited by impious people; so, a twice-born, who went to these countries, became equally impious.

Going to deal with good customs and usages which were to be followed by people, this Purāṇa said that the people of the Kali age, being given to sinful acts, were not fit for practising that Dharma (law and custom) which was meant for the people of the Kṛta age. Hence a twice-born of the Kali age was to avoid the following:—practice of celibacy (as a student) for a long period, carrying a Kamaṇḍalu (as a forest-hermit or as a wandering mendicant), slaughter of cows (in sacrifices), performance of human and horse sacrifices, drinking of wine, sexual union with his own brother's wife, division of paternal property by allotting the largest share to the eldest son, and marriage with a girl belonging to the same Gotra as that of himself or having Sapiṇḍa relationship with his mother or married to another person before.⁴⁷ He was to take his meal after his dependants, who consisted of the poor blood relations on his father's and mother's side and of other helpless persons living under his care. In taking his meal he was to observe certain rules,⁴⁸ viz., he was not to take his meal by sitting or lying on his bed, or from a different seat, or in the morning,

⁴⁴ āryāvarte samutpanno dvijo vā yadi vādvijah |
narmadāṃ sindhu-pāram ca karatoyāṃ na laṅghayet ||
āryāvartam atikramya vinā tirtha-kriyāṃ dvijah |
ājñāṃ caiva tathā pitro airdavana viśudhyati ||

(quoted as from 'Ādi-p.' in *Smṛti-candrikā* I, p. 20).

The Karatoya is a river in northern Bengal and flows through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra.

⁴⁵ These were most probably Marukaccha (modern Cutch) and Kauśiki-kaccha (the district of Purnea).

⁴⁶ The text of the 'Ādi-p.', as given by Devanabhaṭṭa in his *Smṛticandrikā* I, p. 22, reads 'narmadā-sindhu-kāśināṃ pāram padmasya paścimam'. Though we know that 'Kāśī' was the name of the country, of which Benares was the capital, it seems that the original reading for 'kāśinām' was 'kośinām'. The river Kośi or Kauśiki formed the western boundary of Pauṇḍravardhana. Cf. the verse 'himavat-kauśikam vindhyam pāram padmasya paścimam | tirtha-yātrām vinā gatvā punah saṃskāram arhati' || quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' in *Smṛti-candrikā* I, p. 23.

⁴⁷ For the relevant verses of the *Ādi-p.* see *Smṛti-candrikā* I, pp. 29 and 221. The verse 'ūdhāyāḥ punar udvāhaṃ jyeṣṭhāṃsaṃ govadhāṃ tathā | kalau pañca na kurvita bhṛāt-jāyāṃ kamaṇḍalum ||' is ascribed to the *Ādi-p.* in *Smṛti-candrikā* I, p. 221 but to the *Āditya-p.* in *Parāśara-bhāṣya* I, ii, p. 91.

⁴⁸ For the relevant verses of the *Ādi-p.* see *Smṛti-candrikā* II, pp. 617-618, and *Madana-pārijāta*, p. 333.

midday or evening, or with wet clothes on, or with the wet head, or without the sacred thread, or with his feet placed on a machine (yantra), or with his wife, or in a deserted house, a temple or a fire-sanctuary. A Brahmin might take his meal with his Brahmin wife on his way (to a distant place), but if he took his meal with his wife of a lower caste, he was degraded from his caste.⁴⁹ If, at a dinner party, any of the persons rinsed his mouth without leaving his seat, others were to leave their meals at once and wash their hands and mouths. A Brahmin was advised not to take his meal by taking his seat in the same line with other Brahmins or even with his own relatives, because he could not be sure that the latter were not guilty of Pātakas.

As regards marriage,⁵⁰ it has already been said that the earlier *Ādi-p.* disallowed the re-marriage of a girl, no matter whether she was a widow or not. A person, who had such a girl as his wife, was always considered impure. This Purāṇa was of opinion that the father, who allowed his daughter to be married according to the Gāndharva form or who married his daughter to a suitable bridegroom by accepting money from the latter, attained the region of the Gandharvas after death.⁵¹

A large number of verses on cremation of a dead body has been quoted in Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa's *Hāralatā*, Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Devanabhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā* (Part V), Govindānanda's *Suddhi-kaumudī*, and Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*. These verses state that when a twice-born was on the point of death, he was taken out of the house in which he was lying. He was then bathed, dressed with a sacred piece of cloth, and laid down on the ground with his head turned towards the south. The place, at which he was thus laid, was already strewn over with Kuśa grass. When he breathed his last, his body was bathed, dressed with a piece of cloth, adorned with flowers, garlands etc., scented with perfumes, and furnished with a piece of bell-metal, gold, gem or coral placed in its mouth. It was then taken out of the house by its eastern, northern or western gate according as the deceased person was a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya, and carried by the deceased person's relatives or other twice-born people to the burning ground, which was generally situated on the bank of a river, or near water. But if there was no water or snow near the burning ground, the persons accompanying the dead body were to talk about water or call out 'Snow, snow.' While the dead body was carried to the burning ground, a great noise was produced by means of four kinds of musical instruments.⁵² At the burning ground the dead body was laid down with care, bathed, covered with a piece of cloth, and placed on a funeral pile by the deceased person's blood-relations on his father's side or by his kinsmen or other relatives, with its feet turned towards the south.⁵³ In the case of a male, the dead body was placed on the funeral pile with its face turned downwards, but in the case of a female, it was placed on its back. It was set on fire by the proper person. When the dead body was mostly consumed by fire and only a small portion of it remained unburnt, the person, who set fire to it, took in his hand seven pieces of fuel of prescribed lengths,

⁴⁹ brāhmaṇyā bhāryayā sārdaṃ kvacid bhuñjita vādhvani |
adho-varṇa-striyā sārdaṃ bhuktvā patati tatkaṣaṇāt ||

This verse is ascribed to the *Ādi-p.* in *Smṛti-candrikā* II, pp. 617-8, but to *Āditya-p.* in *Parāśara-bhāṣya* I, i, p. 425.

⁵⁰ For the verses of the *Ādi-p.* on marriage see *Smṛti candrikā* I, p. 221, *Hāralatā*, p. 15, and *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 80.

⁵¹ gāndharveṇa vivāhena yas tu kanyāṃ prayacchati |
gāndharva-lokaṃ vrajati gandharvaiḥ pūjyate naraḥ ||
sūlkena dadyād yaḥ kanyāṃ varāya sadṛśāya ca |
kinnaraiḥ saha giyeta gandharvaṃ lokaṃ eti ca ||

These two verses are ascribed to the *Ādi-p.* in *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 80, but to the *Āditya-p.* in *Varāṇa-kaumudī*, p. 575.

⁵² śmaśāna-bhūmiṃ netavyaḥ ||
..... ||
caturvidhena vādyena kuryuḥ koḷāhalaṃ mahat ||

Hāralatā, p. 125 and *Suddhi-kaumudī*, p. 110.

⁵³ This method of placing a dead body on the funeral pile was followed by Brahmins other than the followers of the Sāma-veda.

The Sāma-vedī Brahmins placed the dead body with its head turned towards the south.

went seven times round the fire by keeping it to his right, and threw those pieces of fuel, one by one, into the fire after each complete circumambulation. He, as well as each of his companions, then gave with an axe seven strokes on the burning fuel by pronouncing the Mantra 'kravyādāya namas tubhyam etc.' After that, all of them went to the adjoining river without looking to the funeral pyre, took their bath there, and offered libations of water to the departed soul by facing the south. They then returned to the village and waited outside the house until the person who set fire to the dead body went to a neighbouring pool with a club in his hand,⁵⁴ took his bath, brought water in an earthen pot, cooked rice with it in the north-eastern side of the house, and offered balls of rice in the prescribed manner to the departed soul at the gate of the house. The person, who thus offered Pinḍas (balls of rice) to the deceased person on the first day of his death, was to offer these in the same way during the remaining nine days also.

If an Ahitāgni twice-born went abroad after leaving his wife in charge of his fire and died there, his body was preserved until it was brought home and cremated with his own fire. If his body was not available, his bones were brought home, soaked with ghee, covered with wool, and burnt in the above-mentioned manner along with his implements of sacrifice. In the absence of bones, an effigy was made with leaves of Śara (reed) and Palāśa, covered with an antelope-skin, tied with a thread of wool, besmeared with finely powdered barley mixed with water, and burnt. If a person, whose effigy was thus burnt by his relatives by taking him to be dead, returned home, he was to kindle the sacred fire afresh and a sacrifice was to be performed for giving him a long life. If a piece of bone was received after his effigy had been burnt, it was burnt with the fire produced by means of those half-burnt pieces of fuel which remained after the burning of the effigy. If no such fuel was available, the piece of bone was thrown into deep water. If, of a twice-born couple who maintained the sacred fire, one died before the other, the body of the former was burnt with the three kinds of fire, viz., Śrauta, Smārta and Laukika, while that of the latter was cremated with the Laukika fire only.⁵⁵

The bones of a dead person were collected from the burning ground generally on the fourth, fifth or sixth day according as this person was a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya. According to local customs, his bones could be collected earlier by a day. But if the period of impurity consisted only of three days, the bones could be collected on the second day; and in case of impurity ending immediately (sadyah-śauca), the collection could be made just after the burning of the dead body. During this rite of collection of bones (asthi-

⁵⁴ The text of the *Ādi-p.* is as follows :

mṛṇmayam bhāṇḍam ādāya navaṇā snātaḥ susamyataḥ |
laguḍam sarva-doṣaghaṇam gṛhītvā toyam ānayet ||
(See *Hāratalā*, p. 164, *Sūdhhi-kaumudī*, p. 128, and *Smṛti-tattva*, II, p. 321).

But Aniruddhabhaṭṭa explains the second line thus :
laguḍam gṛhīveti agragāmi-puruṣāntara-hastena laguḍam
gṛhītvetyarthah | 'toyārtham tu tato gacched gṛhītvā
puruṣam purah | gṛhīta-laguḍam yatnāt sarva-doṣa-
nivāraṇam' || iti govindarāja-likhita-vṛddhapraceto-
vacanāt | tena laguḍa-hastam puruṣam agre kṛtvā pinḍa-
rtham mṛṇmaya-bhāṇḍena jālam ānetavyam | (*Hāratalā*, p. 166).

So, according to Aniruddhabhaṭṭa the club was borne not by the person who was to fetch water from a neighbouring pool for offering Pinḍas to the departed soul but by another member of the party who was to lead the former to the pool.

⁵⁵ āhitāgnyoś ca dāmpatyor yas tvādaṁ mriyate bhuvi |
tasya dehaḥ sapinḍaiś ca dagdhavyas tribhir agnihīḥ |
paścān mṛtasya dehas tu dagdhavyo laukikāgninā ||
(*Ādi-p.* quoted in *Hāratalā*, p. 142).

These lines have been explained by Aniruddhabhaṭṭa as follows :

If, of a twice-born couple who maintained the sacred fire, the husband died before his wife, his body was cremated with the three kinds of fire, viz., Śrauta, Smārta and Laukika; and the wife, who died after her husband, was burnt with the Laukika fire only. But if the wife died before her husband, she was burnt with the three kinds of fire, and the husband was to kindle the sacred fire afresh. If he did so, he was burnt with the three kinds of fire after his death. But if he died before kindling the sacred fire afresh, his body was cremated with the Laukika fire only. (See *Hāratalā*, pp. 143-4).

sañcayana) Śaṅkara and the carnivorous deities residing in the burning ground were worshipped in the prescribed manner⁵⁶ with the offer of various kinds of food, drinks, fruits, scents, bowers etc. The bones of the head were then taken by means of pieces of branches of a sacrificial tree, sprinkled with the five products of a cow (pañca-gavya), covered with a piece of silk-cloth, placed in an earthen vessel furnished with a lid, and buried at a sacred place in a forest or at the root of a tree. In opportune times these bones were taken out, placed in a lump of earth together with a piece of gold as well as with honey, ghee and sesamum, and thrown into the Ganges by the deceased person's descendants or by his relations on his father's or mother's side.

In case of death of a child aged less than two years, the dead body was adorned by its relatives with ornaments, flowers, scents, garlands etc., placed in an earthen pot, and buried underground in a sacred place outside the village.

In the case of a dying Śūdra, removal from the house was not compulsory even when he was breathing his last. But when, after his death, the dead body was taken out, all the earthen wares of the house in which he died were thrown away. The dead body of a Śūdra was to be removed to the burning ground through the southern gate of the house. As Śūdras had no Śrauta fire to maintain, the method of cremation was necessarily simpler in their case. No Brahmin was allowed to burn a Śūdra, even if the latter was his friend, and if he did so through mistake, he was to purify himself by taking his bath, touching fire, drinking ghee, and observing fast for three consecutive nights. The rite of collection of bones of a Śūdra was to be performed after the tenth day. It might also be performed on the tenth day, if local customs demanded so.

Regarding the methods of disposing of the dead body as prevailing among the Magas and Daradas of those days, there are a few lines quoted in Aniruddhabhaṭṭa's *Hāralatā*. These lines inform us that the Magas buried their corpses underground. The Daradas, on the other hand, kept their dead bodies suspended from the branches of such trees as stood far away from human habitations and were leafy enough to protect these dead bodies from rain. After the expiry of a complete year these dried up corpses were brought down from those trees, bathed with the waters of the Ganges, and burnt.⁵⁷

A large number of verses of the earlier *Ādi-p.* is found quoted in the Nibandhas in connexion with the determination of the period of impurity to be observed by the deceased person's relatives and others. These periods of impurity were determined by various factors such as the nature of relation of the persons with the deceased, their occupation, their caste, their motive in cremating a dead body, the caste, age, sex or character of the deceased person, the nature of death, the nature of help the person to be deemed impure rendered in cremating the dead body, acceptance of remuneration for carrying the dead body or cremating it, and so on. Even if a Brahmin, who was not a relative of a deceased Brahmin, lamented with the latter's relatives before the rite of collection of bones had been performed, he was to take his bath and sip water after the performance of the rite; if he did so for a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya, he was to bathe with all his garments on and became pure on the second day; but by lamenting for a Śūdra, he was to bathe with his clothes on and remain impure for three days. Lamentation for a deceased person after the collection of his bones caused impurity to a Brahmin for a day and a night. In the case of the members of other castes, lamentation necessitated bath with all the garments on, if this lamentation was made before the collection of bones, but if it was made after the collection, they required simple bath for attaining purity.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ For the method of worship, see the verses of the *Ādi-p.* quoted in *Hāralatā*, pp. 186 ff. and *Suddhi-kaumudī*, pp. 145-6.

⁵⁷ See *Hāralatā*, p. 126—

magā bhūmau nikhanyante daradās ca mrtān sadā |
 āsadya vṛkṣe gacchanti luptrakās ca svabāndhavam ||
 ghana-cchāye sugupte tu tiro varṣāni varṣati |
 tatah samvatsare pūrṇe sarva-sambhāra-sambhrtāh ||
 śuṣkam taṁ jāhnavi-toye prakṣipya pradahanti ca ||

⁵⁸ For the relevant verses of the *Ādi-p.* see *Hāralatā*, p. 91 and pp. 63-64.

Impurity was also caused to certain relatives by births and miscarriage, and its period varied under different conditions. A man, who had as his wife a woman previously married to another person, was always deemed impure.⁵⁹

The numerous verses quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' in the Smṛti Nibandhas in connexion with Śrāddha show that this Purāṇa dealt elaborately with the various points connected with this topic, viz., persons eligible for performing it under different circumstances, the method of its performance, the method of offering Piṇḍas, the number of Brahmins to be fed on this occasion, the proper day for performing the Śrāddha ceremony of those who committed suicide by starting on a long journey, or fasting, or hanging, or by means of a weapon, fire or poison, enumeration of persons who deserved no Śrāddha ceremony (viz., those who were killed by others while abducting the latter's wives or were killed in a fight with the Cāṇḍālas or such other people, or administered poison, or set fire to others' houses, or were Pāṇḍas, or committed suicide out of anger, and so on), the method of performing the Śrāddha ceremony at Gayā, and similar other matters. A Brahmin was forbidden to perform the Śrāddha ceremony of persons of lower castes, even if the latter were his own sons. If he did so out of passion, greed, fear or affection, he was degraded to the caste of that person whose Śrāddha ceremony he performed. Sons, born of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra mothers, were advised to perform the Śrāddha ceremony of their deceased Brahmin father. In case of death of these sons, their own mothers were to perform their Śrāddha ceremony, and *vice versa*.

Though the verses quoted from the 'Ādi-p.' in connexion with donations are not many,⁶⁰ this Purāṇa was certainly not very poor in this topic. In his *Dānasāgara*, Ballālasena says that various kinds of donations were dealt with in the Ādi-p. in accordance with the divisions of the year in which these were to be made, and that in his *Dānasāgara* he quoted from this Purāṇa only a few verses on donations because he fully utilised its sections on Dāna in his *Ācārasāgara*.⁶¹

The earlier Ādi-p. contained chapters on Vratas and festivals also. In *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 47 two verses on Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī are quoted from the earlier Ādi-p. In his *Dānasāgara* (fol. 256 b) Ballālasena quotes more than half a dozen verses on Dipa-dāna in the month of Kārttika; and in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II, ii, p. 518 Hemādri quotes nine metrical lines on Yūgādi-vidhi (which required the gift of barley and the performance of Homa and Viṣṇu-worship with it), and on pp. 763-8 he quotes 30 verses on Pradipa-vidhi. According to these last mentioned verses the Pradipa-vidhi was observed for one month from Āśvina-paurṇamāsī to Kārttika-paurṇamāsī. At the end of this period, the Dipa-mahotsava was performed for three days, during which lamps were lighted in the evening in the houses of the poor, as well as in the burning grounds, temples, banks of rivers, roads, Caityas etc. Gifts of gold, silver, land, cows, paddy, fruits, beds etc. were also made to Brahmins on this occasion.

For the large number of verses on Tīrthas (especially Gayā and Vṛddha-tīrtha) see *Smṛti-candrikā* V, pp. 194-201, *Parāśara-bhāṣya* (of Mādhavācārya) I, ii, pp. 307-8 and Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, pp. 878-9. The chapters on Gayā of the earlier Ādi-p. seem to have

⁵⁹ anyapūrvā yasya gehe bhāryā syāt tasya nityasaḥ |
asaucaṃ sarva-kāryeṣu dehe bhavati sarvadā |
dānaṃ pratigrahaḥ snānaṃ sarvaṃ tasya bhaved vṛthā ||
(see *Hāratalā*, p. 15).

⁶⁰ For the verses on donations see Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 297 (on Kapila-dāna), *Dānasāgara*, fols. 256b-258b, *Dāna-kaumudī* p. 40 (on Bhūmi-dāna), and so on.

⁶¹ *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b—

śrūtāny ādipurāṇe tu dānāny abda-vibhāgataḥ |
ācārasāgaroktatvān na kīrtyante' tra kṛtsnaṣaḥ ||

See also fol. 2a—

... tathā kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoḥ |
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca ||
ādyam purāṇam śāmbam ca kālīkāhvayam eva ca |
nandim āditya-saṃjñam ca narasiṃham tathaiva ca ||

formed the basis of chaps. 105-112 (on Gayā-māhātmya) of the present *Vāyu-p.*, in which Sanatkumāra speaks to Nārada on Gayā and which mentions an *Ādika-p.* in chap. 104 and has retained a few verses from the former.⁶²

Ten verses on omina and portenta have been ascribed to the *Ādi-p.* in *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 546, 548, 550 and 552-6. Of these, one (in *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 546) is ascribed to the *Āditya-p.* in many of the Mss of the *Adbhutasāgara*. The remaining nine verses also might have been taken from the *Āditya-p.* At least the metrical similarity between these verses and those quoted from the *Āditya-p.* in the *Adbhutasāgara* tends to create such an impression.

It should be mentioned here that a good number of verses of the *Ādi-p.* has been wrongly ascribed to the *Āditya-p.* For instance, in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II, ii, pp. 348-9 Hemādri ascribes to the '*Āditya-p.*' an extract of 29 lines dealing with Sukha-supti-vrata⁶³ and Dyūta-pratipad and having Sanatkumāra as the speaker; the verse 'śarmāsābhyantaram yāvat' is ascribed to the *Ādi-p.* in *Suddhi-kaumudī*, p. 43 and Kullūkabhaṭṭa's com. on *Manu* V, 66, but to the *Āditya-p.* in *Smṛti-tattva* II, p. 260; the verse 'vivāha-yajñāyor madhye' is ascribed to the *Ādi-p.* in *Suddhi-kaumudī*, p. 67 and *Hāratalā*, pp. 105-6, but to the *Āditya-p.* in *Kālasārā*, p. 272; and so on. On the other hand, the verse 'madhūkam rāmaṭham caiva' is ascribed to the *Āditya-p.* in Aparārka's com., p. 554, *Smṛti-candrikā* IV, in p. 205, *Parāśara-bhāṣya* I, ii, p. 370, *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, p. 18 and *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 226, but to the *Ādi-p.* in *Madana-pārijāta*, p. 552 and *Parāśara-bhāṣya* I, ii, p. 373; the verse 'api dātṛgrahitroś ca' is ascribed to the *Āditya-p.* in *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 105 and *Kālasārā* pp. 255 and 271 but to the *Ādi-p.* in *Suddhi-kaumudī*, p. 68; and so on. Even in the same work a particular verse is ascribed to the *Ādi-p.* in some Mss and to the *Āditya-p.* in others.⁶⁴

The earlier *Ādi-p.* must have been a Vaiṣṇava work. In a verse ascribed to the *Ādi-p.* in *Smṛti-tattva* II, p. 512, all-pervading Viṣṇu is said to have made a rule, according to which the gods did not reside in their respective images under certain conditions⁶⁵; Aparārka and Govindānanda quote from the *Ādi-p.* a verse which states that the donor of land of the measurement of even a Go-carma becomes free from all his sins and attains the region of Viṣṇu⁶⁶; Viṣṇu is mentioned on many occasions⁶⁷ and Viṣṇu-worship is prescribed in many of the quoted verses⁶⁸; Saṃkara is spoken of in a verse as a deity residing in the burning ground,⁶⁹ and so on.

⁶² For instance, *Vāyu-p.*, chap. 110, verses 2-3 and chap. 111, verse 1 are the same as the verses ascribed to the *Ādi-p.* in *Smṛti-candrikā* V, p. 194.

⁶³ The component parts of this Vrata, which was to be observed on the Kārttikī Amāvāsyā, were the following:—fast at day time (in case the worshipper was not a child or an invalid), worship of Lakṣmī in the evening, illumination at temples, crossing of roads, burning grounds, pastures etc., decoration of market-places with light, clothes, flowers etc., feeding of Brahmins and the poor, dining with friends and relatives after wearing new clothes and ornaments, and so on. On the Kārttikī Śukla-pratipad the worshipper was to play at dice in the morning, dine with friends at noon, hear songs and musical concerts after wearing ornaments and using perfumes, decorate the bed-room with light, garlands etc., pass the night with beloved women, and in the morning honour Brahmins, friends and relatives with new clothes.

⁶⁴ See *Parāśara-bhāṣya* I, ii, p. 23, *Kālanirṇaya*, p. 215, *Kālasārā*, pp. 361 and 541, *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 546, and Aparārka's com., p. 1225.

⁶⁵ khaṇḍite sphuṭite dagdhe bhraṣṭe sthāna-vivarjite |
yāgahine paśu-sprṣṭe patite duṣṭa-bhūmiṣu ||
anya-mantrārcite caiva patita-sparśa-dūṣite |
daśasv eteṣu no cakruḥ saṃnidhānam divaukasaḥ ||
iti sarva-gato viṣṇuḥ paribhāṣam cakāra ha |

⁶⁶ See Aparārka's com., p. 1225 and *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 40.

⁶⁷ See Aparārka's com., pp. 878 (yathā viṣṇur viśokāya tathā tīrtham anāmayaṃ) and 879 (saṃkarṣaṇam vapur viṣṇoś caṇḍāgni-bhavadāhakam).

⁶⁸ See *Dānasāgara*, fol. 258b (ghṛtena snapitum viṣṇum śaktyā sampūjayet tataḥ) and *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II, ii, p. 518 (.... yavair viṣṇum samarcayet).

⁶⁹ *Hāratalā*, p. 186.

APPENDIX I

The verses ascribed to the 'Kṛṣṇārjuna-saṁvāda' of the 'Ādi-p.' in *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, pp. 524, 612, 634, 678 and 683 and *Laghuhbhāgavatāmṛta* (ed. Balai Chand Goswami and Atul Krishna Goswami, Calcutta, 1304 B.S.), pp. 177 (II, No. 6), 182-3 (II, Nos. 34-40), and 184 (II, No. 46) must have been taken from the text of the present *Ādi-p.* as found to exist the Mss. described by H. P. Shastri and Eggeling.

APPENDIX II

The verses ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in the following works are not found in the present *Ādi p.* :—

- (1) Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, pp. 37, 256, 260, 297, 870, 875, 877-9, 901, 1190 and 1225.
- (2) *Smṛti-candrikā* I, pp. 18-19, 20-23, 29, 50, 51, 221 ; II, pp. 248, 249, 596, 616, 617-8 ; IV, pp. 199, 287, 412 ; V, pp. 4-5, 9, 19, 20, 96, 186-7, 193, 194-201.
- (3) *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 546(?), 548, 550, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556.
- (4) *Dānasāgara*, fols. 24a, 256b-258b.
- (5) *Hāralatā*, pp. 12, 15, 18, 29, 31, 42, 45-46, 50-51, 55-56, 65-66, 71, 73, 79, 80, 90-91, 98, 100-101, 105-6, 117, 121, 125-6, 130, 137, 142-3, 147-8, 160, 164-5, 176-7, 186-190, 197, 203-5.
- (6) *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, p. 63 ; II, ii, pp. 348-9, 518, 763-8.
- (7) *Madana-pārijāta*, pp. 48, 333, 449, 456, 552.
- (8) *Parāśara-bhāṣya*, I, ii, pp. 23, 239, 255-6, 260, 305, 307-8, 321, 324, 326-7, 366-7, 373, 399.
- (9) Kullūkabhaṭṭa's com. on *Manu-smṛti* II, 54, III, 200, V, 66 and 72.
- (10) *Dīpa-kalikā* (of *Śūlapāṇi*), fols. 92a, 92b, 93b.
- (11) *Sambandha-viveka* (of *Śūlapāṇi*), fol. 3a-b.
- (12) *Śrāddha-viveka* (of *Śūlapāṇi*), fol. 24a.
- (13) *Dāna-kaumudī*, pp. 27, 40, 80.
- (14) *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, pp. 26, 190, 292, 327, 336, 339, 366, 378, 451, 457, 458, 459, 460, 556.
- (15) *Suddhi-kaumudī*, pp. 9, 11, 19, 28, 29, 33, 40, 43, 44, 45, 52, 56, 58, 61, 63-4, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 87, 91, 94, 95, 96, 106, 110, 112, 115, 116, 119, 121, 123, 124, 128, 129, 132, 132-3, 143, 144, 145-6, 149, 151-2.
- (16) *Varṣa-kaumudī*, pp. 9, 35.
- (17) *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* (Dacca University Ms No. 4630), fols. 26a, 57a, 88a.
- (18) *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 47, 51, 229, 336, 503, 504, 677, 835, 844, 916 ; II, pp. 29, 101, 248, 259, 262, 268, 271, 289, 289-90, 293, 294, 297, 298, 306-7, 307, 308, 309, 310, 312, 321-2, 335, 341, 360, 376, 385-6, 397, 512, 532.
- (19) *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 121.
- (20) *Kālasāra*, pp. 299, 362, 541.
- (21) *Vidhāna-pārijāta* I, p. 490.

NĀRĀYAṆABHAṬṬA ĀRDE, HIS WORKS AND DATE

By Shri SADASHIVA L. KĀTRE.

Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa (= NBA), the subject of this paper, was, as the colophons and other extracts given below will show, son of Lakṣmīdhara surnamed Āraḍa or Ārde. As per my personal knowledge, the Ārde family belongs to the Bhāradvāja Gotra and to the Karhāḍa sub-division of Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇas and has its basic residence in some villages near Savantwadi and Goa in Konkan. From these villages some branches of the family appear to have migrated to other places in Konkan and Karnatak and two also to Benares (U. P.) and Saugor (C. P.) respectively in the course of the last few centuries. The branch at Saugar is still there with its lately-earned local estates now practically lost and many of its present members being in various employments in C. P., U. P. and other provinces. The branch at Benares is no more¹ extant there but it has left enough relics and monuments to bear testimony to the deep and versatile learning and high social status of its scions in the past. Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde of this branch is well-known to Sanskrit scholars as the author² mainly of gigantic learned commentaries on the *Nirṇayasindhu*, the *Gādādhari*, the *Jāgadīśi*, etc. He flourished about 175 years ago and was a contemporary³ of the great Marathi poet Moropant and also the teacher of Viṭṭhala-Upādhyāya who was the younger brother of Kāśinātha-Upādhyāya, the author of the *Dharmasindhu*. Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa's father Raṅganātha⁴ and elder brother Nārāyaṇa, from whom our NBA, flourishing more than a century earlier, is to be distinguished, are also known to have composed learned works and commentaries in Sanskrit. As per details gathered by me locally at Benares, the last male member of this Benares branch of the Ārde family about a hundred years ago had left only a daughter, married in a local branch of the Pādhye Gurjara family, whose son inherited his estates and prestige for learning and whose descendants still flourish at Benares. NBA, whose permanent residence at Benares is proved below, is also claimed to be an ancestor of Kṛṣṇambhaṭṭa and may have founded this branch of the family at Benares, but this claim and the exact relationship, if any, of these scions of the Ārde family remain to be settled in the light of pertinent documentary evidence, if and when available.

(1) **गृह्यामिसागर**—This is the most widely known of NBA's major works. Its MSS are found abundantly as recorded in the three volumes of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* and several subsequent catalogues of MSS. The Manuscripts Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, too, has stocked three old MSS (Accession Nos. 2140, 5642, and 6213) of the same from which it is possible to-day to throw fresh light on a few details regarding the work and the author.

The work treats of the topic of the Smārta and other sorts of sacred fire enjoined to be maintained by Brāhmaṇas and deals exhaustively by way of compilation, with the rites (*i.e.* Prayogas and modes of expiation, *i.e.* *Prāyaścittas*) to obviate evil in cases of irregularities connected with each ingredient of the topic, e.g., Ādhāna, Homa, Punaḥsambhāna, Sthālipāka, Balidāna, Āgrayaṇa, Piṇḍapitryajña, Śrāddha, etc. It also enters into technical discussions relating to many dubious points of the topic and records judicious decisions (*i.e.* *Nirṇayas*) concerning them. To each of these Prayogas, *Prāyaścittas*, *Nirṇayas*, etc. is devoted a separate section which generally, though not always, ends with an exhaustive colophon like इति श्रीमदारुणोपनामकनारायणभट्टकृते गृह्यामिसागरे..... निरूपणम्

¹ An Ārde family at present residing at Benares has, in fact, no direct connection with the celebrated Benares branch of the family. It really belongs to Saugor, shifted to Benares only about thirty years ago and still maintains its connection with Saugor.

² *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, Pp. 118-119, 780, etc.; Vol. II, Pp. 23-24, etc.; Vol. III, p. 26, etc.

³ Vide L. R. Pangarkar's Marathi **मोरोपंतचरित्र** (1908) which publishes a letter showing that Moropant and Kṛṣṇambhaṭṭa Ārde were in correspondence with each other with reference to some literary matters.

⁴ He appears to be identical with Raṅganātha Āraḍa, son of Mahādeva, mentioned as author of the *Daśakumāracaritapūrvapīṭhikāsāra* in CC, II, pp. 53, 114 and other catalogues.

or so. In a few of these sectional colophons we find the work, or rather a portion thereof, secondarily named as *Prayogasāgara*, or *Prayogasāra* according to a few MSS. In the course of his treatment the author cites numerous old authorities, for a tolerable list whereof the readers are referred to J. Eggeling's *India Office Catalogue*, No. 1634 and H. D. Velankar's *BBRAS Catalogue of Samskṛta and Prākṛta MSS*, No. 679.

Velankar regards No. 680 of his said Catalogue as a complete MS and reproduces (p. 215) its concluding colophon as

“इति श्रीमदारडोपनामकलक्ष्मीधरभट्टसूरि (=सूनु ?) नारायणभट्टकृते गृह्याग्निसागरे स्थालीपाकादि-
प्रायश्चित्तविषयकनिरूपणं समाप्तम् ।”

However, on a close inspection of our Institute's three MSS mentioned above I have to say that the work does not end with the section mentioned in the colophon reproduced by Velankar but has one or two further sections subsequent to it. The section on *Dravyasūddhi* is found unanimously in the three MSS at this stage while MS No. 2140 (dated Saka 1742 = 1820 A.C.) contains a still further section on *Asthisūddhi* subsequently to the section on *Dravyasūddhi*.

Many of the recorded MSS of the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* bear their scribes' dates. Probably the oldest among these is a Baroda MS scribed in 1690 A.C.⁵ However, none of the MSS yet on record appears to furnish the date of composition of the work which is usually assigned by scholars⁶ to approximate limits only in the light of external evidence. Hence our Institute's MS No. 5642 which records the exact date and place of composition of the work, although in a distorted manner due probably to the inadvertence of the scribe or to the corruptness of the prototype MS, appears to be unique. The MS consists of 233 folios of straw-paper of the size $9\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ inches and was scribed⁷ in 1836 A.C. It begins :—

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ अथ गृह्याग्निसागरः लिख्यते ॥

नत्वा कृष्णपदाम्भोजं गणेशं शङ्करं शिवाम् ।

लक्ष्मीधरं च पितरं भट्टनारायणं तथा ॥ १ ॥

यथा ज्ञानं विचारार्थं पक्षैः शिष्टैरनुष्ठितम् ।

त्रिणि सूत्राणि तदग्रथानालोच्यान्यांश्च भूरिशः ॥ २ ॥

आरडेत्युपनामा वै भट्टनारायणः सुधीः ।

गृह्याग्निसागरं चैव कुरुते शिष्टतुष्टये ॥ ३ ॥ etc.” (—Folio 1b).

It ends the work :—

“.....इति प्रयोगपारिजातोक्तं द्रव्यशुद्धिः ॥ इति श्रीमदारडोपनामकलक्ष्मीधरसूनुनारायण
भट्टकृते गृह्याग्निसागरे द्रव्यशुद्धिग्रन्थः समाप्तिमगमत् ॥

⁵ Vide P. K. Gode's paper on *The Origin and Antiquity of the Caste-Name of the Karhāda Brahmins* (Appendix III of V. T. Gune's *History of the Gunye Family*), p. 27. In his other paper *Some Authors of the Ārde Family* (published in *J. U. B.*, Vol. XII, Part II, pp. 63-69) Mr. Gode shortly notices two MSS of the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, viz. Nos. 292 of 1884-1887 and 63 of 1895-1902 which were scribed in Śaka 1649 (= 1727 A.C.) and 1693 (= 1771 A.C.) respectively.

⁶ E.g., P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (Poona, 1930), pp. 540, etc., where the work is placed 'later than 1650 A.C.' on account of its quoting the *Rāmāṇḍāravā-
khyā* on Dhūrtasvāmin's Bhāṣya on Āpastamba, the *Prayogapārijāta*, the *Prayogaratna*, the *Nirṇayasindhu*, Bhaṭṭojidikṣita, the *Paraśurāmapratāpa*, Rāmavājaapeyin, etc.

⁷ The scribe's colophon reads :

“॥ शके १७५८ ॥ संमत् १८९३ ॥ प्लवंगनामसंवत्सरे उत्तरायणे ॥ ग्रीष्मर्तौ ॥ अधिक आषाढ
कृष्ण ॥ ५ ॥ पंचमी ॥ भानुवासरे ॥ शततारकानक्षत्रे ॥ आयुष्मान्योगे ॥ कुंभराशिस्थचंद्रे ॥ मिथुन-
राशिस्थसूर्ये ॥ कर्कराशिस्थदेवगुरौ ॥ तद्दिने इदं पुस्तकं समाप्तं ॥ ॥ श्रीमल्लारिमालं सांबसदाशिवापणमस्तु ॥
॥ हस्ताक्षर महिपत यादव सांकुरकर कुलकर्णि याचं असे ॥ स्वार्थं परोपकारार्थं लिखितं ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥
श्रीरस्तु ॥ ॥ पुस्तकं खासगतं असे ॥ ६ ॥ ॥ ” (—Folio 228a).

⁸ सप्ताङ्गज्जेन्दु १६९७ मिच्छाके काशीस्थद्वे (१) विरोधिनि ।
 अक्षयङ्गतिथि १५६२ मिच्छाके विक्रमाब्दे मधौ निशि ॥ १ ॥
 कृष्णाष्टम्यां भृगौ भागानगरे विधिसंज्ञभे ।
 आरडे ह्युपनाम्ना वै भट्टनारायणेन च ॥ २ ॥
 त्रीणि सूत्राणि तदग्रन्थानालोच्यान्यांश्च भूरिशः ।
 सर्वलोकोपकाराय कृतो गृह्याग्निसागरः ॥ ३ ॥

इति गृह्याग्निसागरग्रन्थः समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ ६ ॥ (—Folio 227b).

Verse 1 of the conclusion, as it stands, identifies the year 1697 of the Śālivāhana era with the year 1562 of the Vikrama era which is an impossibility. However, as the year 1562 of the Śālivāhana era concurs with the year 1697 of the Vikrama era, it seems the first and the third quarter of the verse have been mutually transposed due probably to the inadvertence of the scribe either of our MS or of the prototype MS and the verses should really read as :—

अक्षयङ्गतिथि १५६२ मिच्छाके काशीस्थान्दे विरोधिनि ।
 सप्ताङ्गज्जेन्दु १६९७ मिच्छाके विक्रमाब्दे मधौ निशि ॥ १ ॥
 कृष्णाष्टम्यां भृगौ भागानगरे विधिसंज्ञभे ।
 आरडे ह्युपनाम्ना वै भट्टनारायणेन च ॥ २ ॥
 त्रीणि सूत्राणि तदग्रन्थानालोच्यान्यांश्च भूरिशः ।
 सर्वलोकोपकाराय कृतो गृह्याग्निसागरः ॥ ३ ॥

As per these emendations, the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* was completed by the author at a place named Bhāgānagara on the night of Friday the 8th day of the dark half of the month of Caitra in the year 1562 of the Śālivāhana era or 1697 of the Vikrama era, the name of the Samvatsara as per the northern method current at Benares being 'Virodhin'. The date comes to c. April 1640 A.C. which is quite in harmony with the external evidence nothing less than with the dates recorded in other works by NBA or in the documents signed by him to be mentioned hereafter.

Bhāgānagara mentioned in the above conclusion as the place where NBA completed this work may be identical with the present Hyderabad-Deccan,⁹ as another place bearing this name cannot be traced in the geographical sources available to me. It is not quite unlikely that the author had gone and stayed at Hyderabad-Deccan for a while on the eve of his completion of the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* as will be shown to be probable later on.

(2) **श्राद्धसागर** —In the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* NBA refers at least thrice¹⁰ to his own other work named *Śrāddhasāgara*. No MS, however, of this *Śrāddhasāgara*¹¹ appears to have been recorded in any of the Catalogues of MSS that have come to my notice to this date and the

⁸ MS No. 292 of 1884-87 of the Government MSS Library, Poona, as cited by P. K. Gode in his paper 'Some Authors of the Arde Family', omits the portion "सप्ताङ्गज्जेन्दुविधिसंज्ञभे" but furnishes with slight variations, the subsequent portion "आरडे ... गृह्याग्निसागरः" of these three verses.

⁹ Nundo Lal De : *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (1927), pp. 31 and 237. The name is current in Mahārāṣṭra for Hyderabad-Deccan even now.

¹⁰ Vide our MSS No. 5642, Folios 129b

(".....अथ पार्वणश्राद्धप्रयोगः ॥ स चास्मात्कृतश्राद्धसागरे सप्रमाणः सविस्तर उक्तः । संक्षेपस्त्वत्रोच्यते । etc."), 152b ("अहिताग्नेरनाहिताग्नेरन्येषां पार्वणश्राद्धदिसर्वश्राद्धप्रयोगः सप्रमाणः सविस्तारोऽस्मात्कृतश्राद्धसागरे उक्तत्वान्नात्र पुनर्ग्रन्थविस्तरभयात्रोक्तः ।"), 153a ("अथाष्टकाश्राद्ध-प्रयोगः ॥ अत्र तावदष्टकाश्राद्धनिर्णयादिकं सर्वं विस्तेरेणोक्तं यत्तन्मत्कृते श्राद्धसागरे ज्ञेयम् । प्रयोगस्त्व-त्रोच्यते etc.").

¹¹ The *Śrāddhasāgara* by NBA is to be distinguished from its name sakes by other authors mentioned by Aufrecht (QC, I, p. 666, III, p. 138), Kane (HD, I, p. 648) and others.

work even now seems¹² to be known to scholars solely through the references to it in the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* or through a few MSS of short sections extracted from it stocked in some MSS Libraries. The only MS as yet known to me of this work is in my own (i.e. Kātre family's) hereditary collection at Benares. It consists of 348 folios of straw-paper of the size 9 × 4 inches with a margin of about an inch left on the four sides of each page. It is in Devanāgarī characters and is scribed neatly and legibly, though incorrectly at several places. It does not record the scribe's name, place and date but appears to be about 150 to 200 years old. It is complete so far as it goes, but as it ends only with a sectional colophon one cannot be quite sure if it contains the entire work and has not left out any further portion thereof. The only features suggestive of the MS containing the work in its entirety or at least to the extent of the prototype MS are that the scribe ends it with the signs “ || ६ || || ” which he has not inserted at the close of any of the previous sectional colophons and that he has subsequently left blank the remaining portion of the inner page and the whole outer page of the last folio. Anyhow, as I have not succeeded in tracing out another MS of this work in any of the MSS libraries known to me or even in the numerous private collections of MSS owned by friends and acquaintances at Benares, I propose to acquaint the scholars here with the contents etc. of the same solely on the basis of my own MS.

The *Śrāddhasāgara* is, as its title shows, a big compilation dealing exhaustively, with all the sides and ingredients of the topic of Śrāddha (i.e. a periodical funeral rite or ceremony performed in honour of deceased ancestors or relatives) that occupies a very prominent position among the religious customs of caste Hindus. The following are among the matters dealt with in the work—meaning and definition of Śrāddha; various types of Śrāddha e.g., Nitya, Darśa, Aṣṭakā, Mahālaya, Sāmhvatsarika, Pārvaṇa, etc. and Tirthaśrāddhas like the Viṣṇu-śrāddha to be performed at Gaya and other holy places; their detailed respective Prayogas including the Saṁkalpas concerned with each; Piṇḍadāna, Tarpaṇa, Piṇḍapitṛyajña, Vaiśva-deva and other component matters of Śrāddha; discussions and decisions concerning the technicalities of the above and other hosts of topics; questions of performance of Śrāddha by women, Sūdras, persons with one or both the parents alive etc.; times prescribed and forbidden for the performances of various Śrāddhas, etc., etc. For every item *NBA* mostly cites hosts of old authorities and generally notes whose view he prefers on dubious or vexed points. He is also found, though very rarely, to note his own independent view against the cited old authorities with the words वयं तु पश्यामः etc. (—Folio 47b etc.).

The following is my list of works and authors cited in the *Śrāddhasāgara* :—

अमिपुराण, अङ्गिरस, अण्डिला, अतिथि, अत्रि, अपरार्क, आचार्यः or आचार्याः, आदित्यपुराण, आदिपुराण, आपस्तम्ब, आपस्तम्बगृह्य, आशार्क, आश्वलायन, आश्वलायनगृह्य, आश्वलायनगृह्य परिशिष्ट, आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र, आश्वलायनस्मृति, उशनस्, ऋग्विधान, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, कठसूत्र, कठिका, कण्व, कपर्दिन, कपिल, कमलाकरभट्ट, कमलाकरीयाह्निक, कर्क, कर्मविपाक, कलिका, कल्पतरु, कल्पलता, कश्यप, काठक, काठकगृह्य, काठकपरिशिष्ट, कालीय, कात्यायन, कात्यायनसूत्र, कात्यायनस्मृति, कामधेनु, कारिका, कार्णाजिनि, कार्णाजिनि-स्मृति, कालकाण्डहेमाद्रिसार, कालहेमाद्रि, कालहेमाद्रिसार, कालादश, कालिकाखण्ड, काशीखण्ड, कूर्मपुराण, कौण्डिन्य, कौर्म, गद्यसंग्रह, गरुडपुराण, गर्ग, गारुड, गार्गी, गार्ग्य, गालव, गुरवः,¹³ गृह्यकार, गृह्यपरिशिष्टकार, गृह्यभाष्यार्थसंग्रहकार, गोमिल, गौडाः, गौडग्रन्थ, गौडनिबन्ध, गौतम, चतुर्विंशतितम, चन्द्रिका, चन्द्रोदय, चमत्कारखण्ड, छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट, छागलेय, जमदग्नि, जातूकर्ण्य, जाबालि, जीवत्पितृकनिर्णय, ज्योतिर्वृहस्पति, ज्योतिःपराशर, तातचरणाः,¹³ तैत्तरीयश्रुति, त्रिस्थलीसेतु, दक्ष, दाक्षिणात्याः, दिवोदास, दिवोदासीय, दीपिका, देवजानीय, देवयाज्ञिक,

¹² Vide CC, II, pp. 63, 159; HD, I, pp. 540, 648, etc.

¹³ The passages “...अत्र सर्वासामित्युक्तेः स्वमातरि जीवन्त्यामपि सपत्नमातृभ्यो दद्यात्, तन्मरणे सति तस्यै ताभ्यश्च दद्यादित्युक्तं जीवत्पितृकनिर्णय गुरुभिः” (—Folio 45a), “...इदं जीवत्पितृकेणापि सपिण्डकं कार्यं तस्य पितृसत्तमेति वचनं श्राद्धविधिना पिण्डदाने प्राप्ते पुनस्तत्कीर्तनं यस्य जीवत्पितृगर्भिणीपतित्वादिना पिण्डदानं निषिद्धं तस्य तत्प्राप्त्यर्थमिति श्रीतातचरणः” (—F. 46a), “अक्षय्यवटश्राद्धे एव तान्नयमो नान्यत्रेति त्रिस्थलीसेतौ पितामहचरणः” (Contd. on next page).

देवलस्मृति, देवस्वामिन्, देवीपुराण, धर्म, धर्मप्रदीप, धूर्तस्वामिन्, धौम्य, नन्दपण्डितय, नन्दिपुराण, नागरखण्ड, देवल, नारद, नारदीय, नारायण, नारायणश्रुति, निर्णयदीप, निर्णयदीपिका, निर्णयसिन्धु, निर्णयामृत, नृसिंहपुराण, पराशर, पराशरस्मृति, परिशिष्ट, पाद्म, पारस्कार, पाराशर, पाराशरस्मृति, पारिजात, पिण्डपितृयज्ञसूत्र (आश्वलायनीय मैत्रायणीय), पितामह, पितामहचरणाः,¹³ पिप्पलादसूत्र, पुराणसमुच्चय, पुलस्त्य, पृथ्वीचन्द्र, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, पैठीनसि, प्रचेतस्, प्रचेतःस्मृति, प्रजापति, प्रभासखण्ड, प्रयोगदीपिका, प्रयोगदीपिका,¹⁴ प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रायश्चित्तमाधव, बह्वचकारिका, बह्वचपरिशिष्ट, बृहत्पराशर, बृहद्विष्णुपुराण, बृहन्नारदीय, बृहन्मनु, बृहस्पति, बृहस्पतिस्मृति, बैजवाप, बैजवापगृह्य, बैजवापायन, बोपदेव, बौधायन, बौधायनसूत्र, ब्रह्मनिरुक्त, ब्रह्मपुराण, ब्रह्मवैवर्त, ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, ब्रह्मोक्तसंहिता, ब्राह्म, भट्टः (=नारायणभट्ट), भट्टोजिदीक्षित, भरद्वाज, भविष्यत्पुराण, भविष्योत्तर, भारत, भाष्यकाराः, भृगु, मदनपारिजात, मदनरत्न, मदालसावाक्य, मधुशर्ममिश्र, मनु, मरीचि, मरीचिस्मृति, महाभारत, मात्स्य, माधव, मानवमैत्रायणीयसूत्र, मानवश्राद्धकल्प, मार्कण्डेयपुराण, मिताक्षरा, मुद्गल, मेधातिथि, मैत्रायणीय परिशिष्ट, मैत्रायणीयसूत्र, यज्ञपार्थ, यम, यमस्मृति, याज्ञवल्क्य, रत्नावली, राणायनीयसूत्र, रामाण्डार, लक्ष्मणीय, लघुनारदीय, लघुहारीत, लिखित, लिङ्गपुराण, लैङ्ग, लोलट, लौगाक्षि, लौगाक्षिस्मृति, वसिष्ठ, वह्निपुराण, वाजपेयिन्,¹⁵ वाजसनेयश्राद्धकल्प, वाजसनेयसूत्र, वामनपुराण, वायुपुराण, वाराह, विज्ञानेश्वर, विश्वामित्र, विष्णु, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, विष्णुपुराण, वृद्धगार्ग्य, वृद्धपराशर, वृद्धबृहस्पति, वृद्धमनु, वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य, वृद्धवसिष्ठ, वृद्धशातातप, वैदिकसूक्त,⁵ (several), वोपदेव, व्याघ्र, व्याघ्रपाद्, व्यास, व्रतहेमाद्रि, शंख, शंखलिखित, शंखस्मृति, शतपथ, शम्भु, शाकटायन, शांखायनपरिशिष्ट, शाठ्यायन, शाठ्यायनि, शातातप, शातातपीय, कर्मविपाक, शालङ्कयन, शिवधर्मोत्तर, शिवपुराण, शिवस्वामीन्, शूलपाणी, शौनक, शौनकगृह्य, शौनकसूत्र, श्राद्धकलिका, श्राद्धकल्प, श्राद्धकल्पलता, श्राद्धचिन्तामणि, श्राद्धतत्त्व, श्राद्धदीपकलिका, श्राद्धपद्धति,¹⁶ श्राद्धशूलपाणी, श्राद्धहेमाद्रि, श्रीधर, श्लोककात्यायन, श्लोकगौतम, श्लोकापस्तम्ब, षड्विंशन्मत, संवर्त, संग्रह, संग्रहकार, सत्यव्रत, सहाद्रिखण्ड, सांख्यायनगृह्य, सिन्धु, सुदर्शनभाष्य, सुमन्तु, सौरपुराण, स्कान्द, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिदर्पण, स्मृतिरत्नावली, स्मृतिसंग्रह, स्मृतिसमुच्चय, स्मृतिसार, स्मृत्यर्थसार, हरदत्त, हरिहर, हलायुद्ध, हरीत, हेमाद्रि.

On Folio 272b NBA also alludes¹⁶ to his own *Gṛhyāgnisāgara*.

The MS begins :—

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ अविघ्नमस्तु ॥
गणेशं पितरौ कृष्णं नत्वा मन्वादिकान्मुनीन् ॥
आरडाख्येन विप्रेण भट्टनारायणेन च ॥
हेमाद्रिं माधवं सूत्रं वृत्तिं सिन्धुं च कारिकाः ॥
पारिजातौ मदनस्य रत्नं स्मृत्यर्थसारकम् ॥
यथा ज्ञानं विचार्यैतान्पक्षं शिष्टैरनुष्ठितम् ॥
आश्रित्य पद्धतीश्रान्याः प्रोच्यते श्राद्धसागरः ॥
ग्रन्थं विना स्वल्पमपि प्रायो युक्त्या न कल्पितम् ॥
उत्सर्गतोऽबुधैर्ज्ञेयं ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् श्राद्धसागरे ॥

(—F. 114b), etc. appear to be quoted intact from Kamalākaraḥṭṭa's *Nirṇayasindhu*. Evidently 'gurubhiḥ' and 'tātacaraṇāḥ' refer to Rāmākṛṣṇabhṭṭa and 'pitāmahacaraṇāḥ' to Nārāyaṇabhṭṭa.

14 ".....अत्र यज्ञशब्देन ग्रहयज्ञस्त्रिधा प्रोक्त इत्यग्रे यज्ञशब्दप्रयोगादयुतहोमादीनामपि संग्रह इति रामकृष्णोन्नीतप्रयोगदीपिकायां कमलाकरभट्टैरुक्तम् ।"—F. 298b.

15 This Vājapeyin is mentioned as author of a *Śrāddhapaddhati*. NBA cites Vājapeyin's *Śrāddhapaddhati*, which is not recorded by Aufrecht and Kane, in the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* (vide F. 121b of our Institute's MS No. 5642), too.

16 ".....अत्रैतद्विषयकं बहुतरवक्तव्यं मत्कृतगृह्याग्निसागरे पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रकरणे ज्ञेयम् ।"

हेमाद्रेरुद्धतं सर्वं स्वल्पं किञ्चित्तदन्यतः ।
 प्राज्ञैस्तत्तद्विलोक्यैव स्वीकार्यमन्यथा न चेत् ॥
 अनेन प्रीयतां देवो भगवान् रुक्मिणीपतिः ।
 श्रीकृष्णनाथः पूर्वेषामस्माकं कुलदैवतम् ॥

अत्र तावच्छ्राद्धशब्दार्थ उच्यते etc. —Folio 1b.

Some of the numerous sectional colophons in the *Śrāddhasāgara* are more informative than those in the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara*. They run as

“.....तिलतर्पणम् ॥ कारिते बसवणाख्यपण्डितैः श्राद्धसागरे । भट्टनारायणकृते पूर्ण प्रकरणं त्विदम् ॥ इति बसवणपण्डितप्रेरितारडोपनामक (नारायणभट्ट) कृते श्राद्धसागरे कर्माङ्गस्तानादित्य-श्राद्धान्तकमनिरूपणम् ॥ (Folio 23b), “ इति श्रीमद् बसवणपण्डितप्रेरितारडोपनामकनारायणभट्टकृते श्राद्धसागरे पण्डितानिषेधनिरूपणम् ॥ ” (—Folio 90a), “ इति श्रीमदारडोपनामकृते हेमाद्रिपाराशर-माधवस्मृत्यर्थसारादिसारभूते श्राद्धसागरे मुख्यकल्पिकः पार्वणश्राद्धप्रयोगः ॥ ” (—Folio 282a), etc., etc.,

The MS ends :—

“.....आमानं वा दद्यात् । इदमेव प्रायश्चित्ताङ्गं विष्णुश्राद्धमित्यभिधीयते ॥ ॥ इति श्रीमद्भारद्वाजकु-लोद्भवबसवणपण्डितप्रेरितारडोपनामकनारायणभट्टकृते श्राद्धसागरे विष्णुश्राद्धप्रयोगः ॥ ६ ॥ ॥ ”
 —F. 348a.

Thus the *Śrāddhasāgara* is a bulky and learned compilation on an important religious rite of the Hindus. It is probably due to the existence of a number of other and more learned works¹⁷ on the topic that it could not gain the circulation enjoyed by its own author's *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* which has practically no other compilation to vie with it in the range of its topic.

At the outset *NBA* mentions some works and authors, all included in the above list, on whom he has relied mainly in the compilation and also points to Kṛṣṇa accompanied with Rukmiṇi to be his hereditary family Deity. In many of the sectional colophons he informs us that he prepared the *Śrāddhasāgara* at the instance of one Basavaṇṇa-Paṇḍita or Basavaṇṇa-Paṇḍita. In the last colophon in the MS the author appears to note that the Ārḍe family in which he was born belonged to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, although the component part 'Sri-madbhāradvājakulodbhava'—of the compound can also be taken to refer to Basavaṇṇa-Paṇḍita.

So far as the MS goes, *NBA* does not appear to note when and where he completed the *Śrāddhasāgara*. It is also difficult to settle the exact chronology of the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* and the *Śrāddhasāgara* as each of these two works, as shown above, is found to refer to the other in its body. Hence for the accurate information regarding these points we must wait till another complete MS of the *Śrāddhasāgara* furnishing that information is brought to light. However, an hypothesis may be suggested here and it is that both the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* and the *Śrāddhasāgara* appear to be compiled almost synchronously. Basavaṇṇa-Paṇḍita appears to be a Canarese name. We saw above that *NBA* prepared or completed the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* in 1640 A.C. at Bhāganagara or Hyderabad-Deccan which abounds in Canarese population. It may be that Basavaṇṇa-Paṇḍita was a resident of Bhāganagara, came in contact with *NBA* during the latter's casual stay there while the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* was under preparation and, out of admiration for his learning and ability, extended to him his own patronage for the compilation of the proposed *Śrāddhasāgara*. Of course, the probability of Basavaṇṇa-Paṇḍita being a resident of Benares cannot be discarded altogether as Karnāṭaka Brāhmaṇa families like other Pañcadrāviḍa Brāhmaṇa families, are known to be residing in that holy place for some centuries past, although in extremely small numbers. Still, at any rate, the hypothesis of synchronous compilation of the two works adequately accounts for the mutual references and citations of almost the same authorities in the two works and, until reliable

¹⁷ E.g., Sūlapāni's *Śrāddhaviveka*, Vācaspatimiśra's *Śrāddhacintāmaṇi*, Raghunandana's *Śrāddhatattva*, Nandapāṇḍita's *Śrāddhakalpalatā*, Nilakanṭhabhaṭṭa's *Śrāddhamayūkha*, etc.

evidence to the contrary is brought forth, we may assign the *Śrāddhasāgara* to some time about 1640 A.C.

(3) **संस्कारसागर** (?)—Aufrecht makes the following entry in CC, I, p. 682b :—

“**संस्कारसागर** dh. by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. Oudh XIII, 24, (on Sthālipāka).”

P. V. Kane's entry¹⁸ of this *Samśkārasāgara* in his *List of Works on Dharmaśāstra* is based probably on Aufrecht's entry alone. As the original MS of this *Samśkārasāgara* entered into Pandit Deviprasāda's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS existing in Oudh*, Part XIII, that is the only source of Aufrecht's above entry, is not available to me, it is not possible for me to decide the exact nature, extent, etc. of this work as also the identity of its author Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa with our *NBA*. However, taking for granted that it is a distinct compilation, it is very likely that its author is *NBA* himself most of whose major works are termed as respective *Sāgaras*. Still, from the fact that the MS is said to contain the portion of Sthālipāka alone, it can be suspected that the work is not an independent compilation but only the *Samśkāra* section of the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* and that MS contains only the portion on Sthālipāka of that section. We have seen above that the *Prayoga* portions of the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* have been termed as *Prayogasāgara* in some of their colophons¹⁹ and it is not unlikely that the *saṁskāra* portions of the same have been likewise termed as *Samśkārasāgara* in some of their colophons in some MSS. However no definite remarks can be passed on this matter at present.

(4) **पूजासागर**—None of the MSS Catalogues known to me, including Aufrecht's CC and Kane's *List of Works on Dharmaśāstra*, appears to record *NBA's Pūjāsāgara*. However, I had a MS of this work many years ago in a rich collection owned by one of my friends at Benares and recently found out another MS of the same in a collection at Saugor (C. P.). The latter MS I was also able to procure for the MSS Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute where it now forms Accession No. 6241. It consists of 22 + 2 folios of thin country-paper of the size 9½ × 4 inches with a margin of about an inch left on the four sides of each page. Several marginal notes and additions appear to be inserted in the handwriting of the original scribe himself who scribed the MS in small Devanāgarī characters about September 1821 A.C.

The *Pūjāsāgara* is a compilation, much smaller in bulk than the first two works of *NBA*, dealing with all the topics of the ritual of Deity-worship, e.g. various forms and modes of worship, Sthāpanā or Prānapratīṣṭhā of various Deities by people of various castes, proper times, places and directions for worships, the various pañcāyatans, of Deities in household and temple worships, importance of worship of Śāligrāma and of various sorts of liṅgas, discussions and decisions regarding the technicalities of the use of śaṅkha, ghaṇṭā, kalaśa etc., preferable types of water, upacāradravayas etc., proper modes of ācamana, prāṇāyāma, saṁkalpa, abhiṣeka, naivedya, prārthanā, pradakṣiṇā, etc., the various upacāras numbering five, eight, sixteen, thirty-two or sixty-four, methods of plucking flowers, Tulasi, Bilva and other leaves and their selection, ingredients of prescribed dhūpas etc. Although the author's treatment is comparatively concise in this work, here, too, he cites hosts of works and authors among whom I could trace the following :—

अगस्त्यसंहिता, आग्नेय, आधर्वण्यपरिशिष्ट, आदित्यपुराण, आपस्तम्बीय, आश्वलायन, आहिक, ऋग्विधान, कमलाकरीय, कमलाकरीयाहिक, कात्यायन, कार्ष्णाजिनि, कालकौमुदी, कालिकापुराण, काशीखण्ड, कृत्यकल्पतरु, कौर्म, कौलिक, कमदीपिका, क्रियासार, गरुड, गौतम, चन्द्रिका, चन्द्रोदय, छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट, जटमल्ल, टोडरानन्द, तत्त्वसागरसंहिता, तिथितत्त्व, तिथिभविष्य, त्रिस्थलीसेतु, त्रैलोक्यसंमोहनतन्त्र, त्रैविक्री,

¹⁸ “**संस्कारसागर** by नारायणभट्ट (on स्थालीपाक)” —H. D., I, p. 653.

¹⁹ E.g., इत्यारडोपनामक नारायणभट्टकृते प्रयोगसागरे होमविषयनिरूपणम्” (—Folio 64a), “इत्यारडोपनामक नारायणभट्टकृते प्रयोगसागरे गृह्यमिनाशकनिरूपणम् ॥” (—Folio 176b), etc in our MS No. 5642.

दक्ष, दानकाण्ड, देवदक्षिणा, देवीपुराण, नन्दपण्डित्य, नन्दमण्डपय (?) नन्दपुराण, नारद, नारदपञ्चरात्र नारदीय, नारसिंह, निर्णयसिन्धु, नृसिंहपुराण, पञ्चरात्र, पञ्चायतनसार, पदार्थादर्श, पद्मपुराण, पराशरस्मृति परिशिष्ट, पाराशर, पाराशरमाधवीय, पारिजात, पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका, पुरुषसूक्त, पुरुषार्थप्रबोध, पुलस्त्य, पुष्पमाला पुष्पसारसुधानिधि, पुष्पाध्याय, पूजाकल्पलता, प्रकरण, प्रपञ्चसागर, प्रपञ्चसार, प्रपञ्चसारसंग्रह, प्रयोगदीपिका, प्रासाददीपिका, बृहन्नारदीय, बृहस्पति, बोपदेव, बौधायन, ब्राह्म, भविष्य, भागवत, भारत, भार्गवाचन, भार्गवाचनदीपिका, मदनपारिजात, मदनरत्न, मनु, मन्त्रतन्त्रप्रकाश, मन्त्रमहोदधि, मन्त्रशास्त्र, मरीचि, महाकपिलपञ्चरात्र महार्णव, मास्त्य, माधव, माधवीय, मार्कण्डेय, मूलागम, याज्ञवल्क्य, योगिनीतन्त्र, रत्नसागर, रत्नावली, रत्नेश्वरो पाख्यान, रुद्रयामल, रेवाखण्ड, लक्ष्मणीय, लिङ्गपुराण, लैङ्ग, वसिष्ठ, वाचस्पति, वाचस्पतिमिश्र, वामनपुराण, वाराह, विद्याकर, विद्याकरीयनिबन्ध, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, विष्णुपुराण, विष्णुरहस्य, विष्णुवागम, विहायसपञ्चरात्र, वृद्धपाराशर, वैष्णव, व्यास, शंख, शंखस्मृति, शातातप, शान्तिहेमाद्रि, शारदातिलक, शिवधर्म, शिवपुराण, शिवरहस्य, शिववाक्य, शिवसर्वस्व, शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका, शूलपाणि, शैवागम, श्राद्धहेमाद्रि, षट्त्रिंशन्मत, संवर्त, संग्रह, सप्तशतीपाठ, सारसंग्रह, सिद्धान्तशेखर, सिन्धु, सुधानिधि, स्कान्द, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिसार, स्मृति-सारावली, स्मृत्यर्थसार, हयशीर्षपञ्चरात्र, हरनाथ, हरनाथीय, हरिभक्तिविलास (लक्ष्मणीय), हलायुध, हारीत, हेमाद्रि, हेमाद्रिपरिशिष्ट, NBA also alludes to his own *Śrāddhasāgara*²⁰ on Folio 5b and *Āhnikasāgara*, to be noticed further, on Folios 3a and 4a.

— The MS begins :—

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

राज्ञः शाहाजिसंज्ञस्य भूसुराग्र्यः पुरोहिताः ।

आर्वकिरोपसंज्ञश्च भट्टनारायणः सुधीः ॥

तदाश्रितेन गोपालभट्टेण प्रेरितो ह्यहम् ।

तदाज्ञया तु लोकानामुपकाराय चात्मनः ॥

आरडेल्युपसंज्ञश्च भट्टनारायणः सुधीः ।

नत्वा गणेशं श्रीकृष्णं लक्ष्मीं च पितरौ गुरुन् ॥

प्रपञ्चसारं सारस्य संग्रहं त्विविधानकम् ।

स्मृत्यर्थसारमग्रेयं सिन्धु स्कान्दं च वैष्णवम् ॥

पूजाकल्पलतादींश्च पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिकाम् ।

अन्यान्विष्णवाद्यागपांश्च दृष्ट्वालोक्य च भूरिशः ॥

छाद्रीष्विन्दुमिते १५७२ वर्षे विकृतौ कालगुने शुभे ।

गणेशसंनिधौ पूर्णग्रामे द्विजसमूहके ॥

सागरं देवपूजायः कुरुते सप्रमाणकम् ॥

अत्र तावत्पूजाविधायकमुक्तम् । पद्मपुराणे —Folio 1a.

The MS ends :— अत्यन्तरोगयुक्ताङ्गे राजचोरभयादिषु ।

गुर्वभिदेवकृत्येषु नित्यहानौ न दोषभाक् ॥ इति

नन्दननामसंवत्सरे वर्षतौ भाद्रपदकृष्णतृतीयायां गुरुवासरे संवत् १८७८ पित्रे इत्युपनामक नारायण-दीक्षितस्येदं पुस्तकं समाप्तम् ॥ श्रीरामचन्द्रार्पणमस्तु ॥ ॥ इत्यारडोपनामनारायणभट्टकृते पूजासागरा-ख्यग्रन्थः समाप्तः ॥ —Folio 22b.

²⁰ “.....श्राद्धादावपि ब्राह्मणहस्तेऽर्घ्यदाने ‘एष तेऽर्घ्य इति प्रोक्तस्तेभ्यो दद्यादथाष्टधा । जलं क्षीरं दधि घृतं तिलतण्डुलसर्षपान् ॥ कुशाग्राणि च पुष्पाणि—’ इत्येतद्व्याष्टकयुक्तमर्घ्यं दद्यादिति श्राद्धहेमाद्रिस्थ-ब्रह्मपुराणवचनमस्माभिः श्राद्धसागरे साकल्येनोक्तम् । ”—Folio 5b.

In the introduction *NBA* states that he prepared the *Pūjāsāgara* in the month of Phālguna in the year 1572, obviously of the Śālivāhana era (i.e. C March 1651 A.C.), in the vicinity of a shrine of Gaṇeśa at Pūrnagrāma abounding in twice-born people at the bidding of Gopālabhaṭṭa, a protégé of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa Ārvikara who was the chief priest of King Śāhājī. The King Śāhājī mentioned here is undoubtedly identical with Shahaji Rāje Bhosle (1595-1664 A.C.), the father of Shivaji the Great. The Pūrnagrāma appears to be identical with the original town or village of Poona which, included as it was in the small jagir granted in 1604 A.C. by the Nizamshah of Ahmednagar to Maloji,²¹ father of Shahaji, was, along with the Pargana of its name and a considerable adjoining portion of Mawal, again conferred as jagir on Shahaji about 1637 A.C.²² by the Alishah of Bijapur and was managed on behalf of Shahaji by Jijabai, the mother of Shivaji, with the help of Dadoji Kondadeva and subsequently by Shivaji himself. The word 'Gaṇeśasaminidhau' most probably refers to the shrine of Gaṇeśa now known as Kasbā-Gaṇapati that is genuinely known to exist at Poona since pre-Shivaji days and is quite close to the site of Shivaji's old residence. We know from numerous documents and also from the traditional practice current even to this day that the Ārvikaras, lately known as Rājopādhyes, have been the hereditary family-priests of the Bhosles.²³ Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa Ārvikara mentioned by *NBA* is probably the same as the father of the two brothers Dāmodarabhaṭṭa and Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa of Ārvi to whom an inam-sanad²⁴ was granted, in 1628 A.C. as stated by the late Viśwanatha Kashinath Rajwade, on account of their being the family priests of Shahaji who was then a noble of the Nizamshah of Ahmednagar. Gopālabhaṭṭa, described as a protégé of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa Ārvikara and patron of *NBA* for this compilation,

²¹ महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोश by S. V. Ketkar, Vol. XVII (Poona 1925), p. (प) 140.

²² मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश Poona, (1937) by Siddeshvara Shastri Chitrav, p. 757.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 691. The family belongs to Deśastha R̥gvedin sub-division of Mahārāstra Brāhmanas and to Śākalya gotra. Its original place of residence is Ārvi in the Shrigonde taluka of the Ahmednagar district and its branches are found at all the places where the Bhosles made their permanent residence at various stages.

²⁴ Vide the collection of V. K. Rajwade's historical introductions— ऐतिहासिक प्रस्तावना (Poona 1928), p. 382, under the sub-heading इ. स. १६२८ तला एक लेख "अजु दीवाणे रखतखाने खास वजानेबू कारकुर्तानी व देशमुखानी पा। पुणे व मुकासाईयानी व हुदेदारानी अजहती मुकासाई हाल व इस्तकबाल व मोकदमानी मौजे देउळगौ नजदीक आलेगौ कर्याती पाटस पा। मजकूर बिदानद. सु। सन तिसा असर अलफ. दामोदरभट बिन नारायणभट व रामेश्वरभट बिन नारायणभट साकिन आखी मुदाल बंदगी हजरती मालूम केले जे, आपणियासि इनाम जमीन सेत खुद खासा दोरी सवा दर सवाद.....हुज्ती हैबतखान सलाम अलफ आहे. येणेप्रमाणें फर्मान करुनु देणे म्हणोन. रोखा ममलकत मदारी मलक अंबर एकंदर इनामदारानी तिसा असर अलफ छ २० माहे सौवाळ आहे. फर्मान मन्हामती होये. मालूम जालें. बा। ई आ। ती दिवाण खासा बराये ई रुके ७ देवविले. दामोदरभट बिन नारायणभट व रामेश्वरभट बिन नारायणभट साकिन आखी मुदल यांसी इनाम जमीन..... सलास अलफ दिधले आहे. तेणेप्रमाणें करार केले असे ता सवा असर अलफ जैसा भोगवटा व तसरफाती चालत असेल तेणेप्रमाणें दुमाला कीजे दर हर साल फर्मानाचा उजूर न कीजे तालीक घेऊन असली फिराऊन दीजे. वा रोखा मा मा मलक अंबर एकंदर इनामदारानी तिसा असर अलफ छ २० सौवाळ प्रा दामोदरभट व रामेश्वरभट सेत दोरी सवा बा सवाद दफतर यास मोतेब सुद.

etc." On p. 383 Rajwade states that this document, granted in 1628 A.C. to the two brothers on account of their being the family-priests of Shahaji, then a noble of the Nizamshah of Ahmednagar, is in the hereditary records of Bhavsahab Rajopadhye of Satara.

Probably this very Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa's son was Prabhākaraabhaṭṭa Ārvikar, also mentioned as the royal family priest of Shahaji and Shivaji, who died about 1672 A.C. and whose widow executed in 1674 a deed of adoption (*Dattakapatra*) signed by eminent personages like Gāgābhaṭṭa and others as witnesses—vide शिवाजीनिबंधावली (Poona, 1930), p. 68, etc.

seems to be identical with Gopālabhaṭṭa Mahābaḷeśvarkara²⁵ who was the mantraguru both of Jijabai and of Shivaji, performed special religious rites *Anuṣṭhāna* to propitiate the Sun-god for Shivaji's success and prosperity at his request and got from him a sanad dated 18-2-1653 granting him an annual gift of one hundred royal gold coins called *hon* etc. for the same *anuṣṭhāna* to be performed every year thenceforth. As the *Pūjāsāgara* was prepared exactly two years prior to the date (Phālguna Śaka 1574) of this sanad and about a year before Gopālabhaṭṭa's first performance of the said annual *Anuṣṭhāna*, it is not unlikely that Gopālabhaṭṭa caused this to be compiled for his own convenience in the *anuṣṭhāna* undertaken by him nothing less than for the general use of priestly Brāhmaṇas. These details from the *Pūjāsāgara* brought to light probably for the first time may prove of some use to scholars of Maratha history.

Thus the *Pūjāsāgara*, too, is a learned work by *NBA* and it gains additional importance on account of the details furnished by its introductory verses. It is difficult to account for its lack of circulation notwithstanding its usefulness and handiness.

(5) **अहिकसागर** —On Folio 3a of the above-mentioned of the *Pūjāsāgara* *NBA* says— “.....लिङ्गं बाणलिङ्गं, तस्य स्वतःसिद्धत्वात् । तथा भविष्ये-बाणलिङ्गानि राजेन्द्र ! ह्यातानि भुवनत्रये । न प्रतिष्ठानसंस्कारस्तेषामावाहनं तथा ॥ अत्र तावन्नैकवस्त्रत्वं बहिर्जानुत्वं वाग्यमत्वमप्रौढ-पादत्वं यज्ञोपवीतित्वं बद्धशिखकच्छत्वं पवित्रपाणित्वमार्षादिस्मरणादिपूजादौ द्विराचमनं पूजान्ते च द्विदशकाल-युल्लेखनं च मत्कृतैतस्मिन्नहिकसागरे तत्तत्प्रकरणप्रतिपादितप्रमाणतः परिभावतश्च प्रागुक्तं सर्वमन्त्रानुसंधेयम् । किञ्चित्त्राप्युच्यते etc.” Further on F. 4a he again says— “..... अगस्त्यसंहितायाः प्राणायामैर्विना यद्यत्कृतं कर्म निरर्थकम् । अतो यत्नेन कर्तव्याः प्राणायामाः शुभार्थिभिः ॥ एतदन्तस्य वक्ष्यमाणस्य च सर्वं लक्षणं संध्यास्थले परिभाषायां तत्प्रकरणे च पार्थक्येन सविस्तर-मुक्तं प्राक् । विस्तरमयान्न तद्वदत्रोच्यते etc.”

These extracts reveal that *NBA*, prior to his composition of the *Pūjāsāgara*, had prepared another big compilation entitled *Ahnikasāgara* containing several sections (= *prakaraṇas*) and obviously dealing exhaustively with the various religious rites (e.g. *Saṁdhya* adoration, etc.) to be performed by Brāhmaṇas etc. every day at fixed hours. Unluckily no MS of this *Ahnikasāgara* appears to have been recorded to this date. No Catalogue of MSS. known to me, including Aufrecht's *CC* and Kane's *List of Works on Dharmaśāstra*, seems to refer to this work either directly or indirectly. The custodians of numerous MSS collections all over the country and abroad should try to rescue from oblivion this *Ahnikasāgara* which, too, is likely to have been prepared under the patronage of some important contemporary personage and may throw additional light on *NBA*'s learning and historical dignity.

From the above extracts it is evident that the *Ahnikasāgara*, too contained a section on Deity-worship and that the *Pūjāsāgara*, prepared subsequently at the instance of Gopālabhaṭṭa in the form of an independent compilation, is also regarded by the author as a part

²⁵ **मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश**, pp. 328 **गोपाल श्रीधर महाबलेश्वरकर**—‘हे भले थोर अनुष्ठाते, सूर्य-उपासनी, पद्महस्ती’ म्हणून शिवाजीमहाराज आणि जिजाई यांनी यांच्याकडून मंत्रोपदेश घेतला, आणि यांस शिवाजीने आपल्या अभ्युदयार्थ सूर्याचें अनुष्ठान सांगितलें. आणि असें अनुष्ठान, प्रतिवर्षी न्हावें म्हणून दरसाल शंभर पाच्छाई होन, आठ खंडी धान्य, आरक्त वस्त्रे दोन, पीतांबर एक, शाल एक व आसन एक, इतकें देण्याची सनद देऊन व्यवस्था केली. आणि यांचा मंत्रोपदेश वंशपरंपरेनें घेतला जावा अशी सनद स. १६५३ फेब्रुवारी १८ (श. १५७४ फाल्गुन १) रोजी करून दिली. यावरून शिवाजीमहाराजांची यांच्यावरील श्रद्धा व्यक्त होते.” 410 “हिने (=जिजाबाईनें) गोपाल श्रीधर महाबलेश्वरकर यांचा उपदेश घेतला होता.” 776 “गोपालभट्ट महाबलेश्वरकरांस व समर्थांच्या चाफळच्या मठास यावेळीं शिवाजीनें दिलेल्या देणग्या यावेळची मनःस्थिति दर्शवितात.”

The details concerning Gopālabhaṭṭa are furnished here on the basis of Document No. 631 of the *Patrasārasaṁgraha*. From *NBA*'s introduction it is clear that Gopālabhaṭṭa was originally a protege of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa Ārvikara and evidently introduced by him to Shivaji.

²⁶ of, or rather a supplement to, the *Āhnikasāgara*. From the use of 'etasmin' and 'prāg uktam' in the above extracts *NBA* appears to establish such a relation between the two *Sāgaras*.

(6) **होमसागर** (?)—On F. 16b of the MS of the *Pūjāsāgara* *NBA* says— “...गन्धादिका निवेद्यान्ता पूजा पञ्चोपचारिका । सपर्यास्त्रिविधाः प्रोक्तास्तामेकां च समाचरेत् ॥ पञ्चोपचार पूजा तु म (या)त्र स्थापितदेवानां विसर्जनात्प्राक् पूजोक्ता तद्विषया । महार्णवस्य ऋग्विधाने तु साक्षात्सप्तम्यादिभिर्ऋग्भिर्गन्धादिनिवेद्यान्तां पञ्चोपचारपूजामग्रे कृत्वा वा समिधादिहोमः कार्य इत्युक्तं कण्ठवेणैव तत्प्रकारस्तु होमे वक्ष्यते । etc.”

Here he appears to promise that in the course of his main treatment of Homa at a subsequent stage he would deal with a species of Homa to be performed by means of sacrificial sticks etc., as prescribed by the *Mahārṇava* with insistence, with the employment of particular Ṛks either before or after performing the Pañcopacāra Pūjā of Deities. However, no treatment of this or any other Homa can be traced in the body of the *Pūjāsāgara*. As a particular form of Homa is also included among the five daily yajñas to be performed by Brāhmaṇas, we could with a considerable degree of probability have assigned the said treatment to the pertinent section on Homa in the *Āhnikasāgara*. But the difficulty in such an assumption is that the *Āhnikasāgara* appears to have been completed prior to the commencement of the *Pūjāsāgara*, whereas the treatment of Homa is mentioned here only as a projected, and not already accomplished, literary piece by the author. This factor hints at the probability of *NBA* having compiled, or having thought of compiling, some time after 1601 A.C. a work, entitled *Homasāgara* or so, dealing with the topic of Homa in its entirety. From the fact that we find (vide below) recorded a MS of *NBA*'s *Lakṣahoma-Kārikā* or *Samkṣipta-Graha-yāga* which appears to be only a fragment of some major work dealing with the topic of Homa and cannot be located in the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara*, we may safely conclude that *NBA* actually translated his above-mentioned promise into action. It must, however, be noted that the probability of the said treatment being from the Homa section of the *Āhnikasāgara* cannot be excluded altogether.

This probable *Homasāgara*, too, if really extant, deserves to be restored to physical existence.

Above-mentioned are the main major works by *NBA* so far as could be gathered by me directly or indirectly. MSS of a few minor works by him bearing different titles are traced here and there, but most of them, as shown below, are nothing but selected fragments from his major works.

7. **स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त**—I have seen a few MSS of this work in some private collections at Benares. The work, however, is only a major section of that title from the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara*. Nos. 11977²⁶ and 18805²⁷ of the *Tanjore Sanskrit MSS Catalogue* seem to contain this very fragment from the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara*. The concluding colophon in both these MSS reads इति श्रीनारायणभट्टकृते प्रयोगसागरे स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तानि etc. We have seen above that 'Prayoga-sāra,' which should really read as 'Prayogasāgara' according to the majority of old MSS, is an alias of the whole or a portion of the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara*.

(8) **पिण्डपितृयज्ञ**—A MS consisting of nine folios of the size 8 × 4 inches in the MSS Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute (Accession No. 5346) containing this work which is nothing but the section of that name from *NBA*'s *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* as is evident from its own beginning “... अथ नारायणभट्टकृते गृह्याग्निसागरे प्रासङ्गिकपिण्डपितृयज्ञकारिकाप्रयोगः लिख्यते...” and end “इति श्रीमदारडोपनामकनारायणभट्टकृते गृह्याग्निसागरे पिण्डपितृयज्ञ-तल्लोपस्थालीपाकदिप्रायश्चित्तविषयकनिरूपणं समाप्तम्”

²⁶ *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS in the Tanjore Library*, Vol. XVII (1933), pp. 7890 f. The work is entered here under the title प्रयोगसागरः

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII (1934), pp. 8675 f. The work is entered here under the title. स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तम्.

(9) **आडपद्धति**—A few MSS exist of this work as recorded by Aufrecht and Kane. However, from Aufrecht's entry—

“**आडसागरे आडपद्धति**: by Nārāyaṇa, son of Lakṣmidhara. Stein 106.” in CC, II, p. 159b, it is clear that the work is only the pertinent extract from *NBA's Śrāddha-sāgara*.

(10) **लक्षहोमकारिका** or **संक्षिप्तग्रहयाग**—H. P. Shastri in his *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* Second Series, Vol. III (1907), pp. 171 f. describes a MS bearing such a title, covering only two folios and dated Śaṁvat 1783 (=1727 A.C.). The MS begins “... अथ लक्षहोमकारिका” and ends “सर्वकर्मसमाप्तिं च विप्राशीर्वचनानि च । अयुताये ग्रहमखे रुद्रादौ वासमण्डपे ॥ संकेत-
आरडाख्येन भट्टनारायणेन च ॥ इति अरडोपनामकनारायणभट्टकृतः संक्षेपतो ग्रहयागः समाप्तः संवत् १७८३”

Obviously, the work has no appearance of an independent treatise and seems to be only a relevant extract from some major compilation by *NBA*. As such a portion is not traceable in the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara*, it probably belongs to *NBA's Homasāgara* as suggested above.

Further investigations by scholars are likely to bring to light still more works, major or minor, by *NBA*.

Although *NBA* composed or completed two of his *Sāgaras* respectively at Bhāgānagara and Pūmāgrāma in the Deccan and a third at an unnamed place at the instigation of a Canarese patron, still he appears to be a permanent resident of Benares. His works display²⁸ a considerable knowledge of traditions, places, etc. of Benares. His consent-signature has already been traced on two important socio-religious documents issued from Benares in connection with caste-disputes of Deccani Brāhmanas. Among several contemporary signatories of note he records his consent firstly on a *sammālipatra*²⁹ dated Śaṁvat 1687 (= 1631 A.C.) regarding Sārasvata Brāhmanas and secondly on a *nirṇayapatra*³⁰ dated Śaṁvat 1714 (= 1657 A.C.) regarding Devarukhe Brāhmanas. This fact not only proves his permanent residence at Benares but also makes it extremely likely that his family had migrated to Benares in his father Lakṣmidhara's life-time or even earlier, since the privilege of recording such consents or dissents is usually enjoyed at Benares by learned Brāhmanas who are also hereditary residents of that holy place. At any rate, he certainly seems to have established his reputation at Benares on account of his learning, authorship etc. prior to 1631 A.C., i.e. about ten years before the date of completion of the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara*, and was alive at least upto 1657 A.C. i.e. about six years after the date of composition of the *Pūjāsāgara*. As such, we can assign his literary activities with a fair sense of probability to the period 1620-1670 A.C. His reputation for learning and authorship seems to have spread abroad and he used to receive invitations for literary, and probably also priestly functions from mofussil personages. This is easily borne out by the fact that distant places like Hyderabad-Deccan and

²⁸ E.g. Vide Folio 10b of the MS of the *Pūjāsāgara*—“..... इदं पूर्ववाक्यवशाद्विश्वेश्वर-विशयमिति केचित् । काशीस्थपुराणप्रसिद्धसर्वलिङ्गविषयं काशीखण्डे रनेश्वरोपाख्यानं तथैव दर्शनदित्यन्ये ॥” etc.

²⁹ Vide p. 24 of Appendices to the *सरस्वतीमंडल* by R. B. Gunjkar, Bombay, 1884. The endorsement is “.....आडोपनामकनारायणभट्टानां संमतम्.”

³⁰ R. S. Pimputkar : *चित्तेभट्ट प्रकरण* (Bombay, 1926), Appendix 2, pp. 78-81. This *Nirṇayapatra* written by Mīmāṃsaka Lakṣmanabhaṭṭa, who is probably the same as the younger brother of Kamalākaraḥbhaṭṭa and the author of the *Ācāraratna* etc., embodies a decision reached at the celebrated site known as Muktimandapa, adjacent to the temple of Viśvanātha, by prominent ascetics and learned Brāhmanas of Benares granting approval for the genuineness of Devarukhe Brāhmanas. *NBA* is No. 17 among the signatories to this decision, his endorsement reading “संमतं नारायणभट्ट आरडे इत्युपनामः”. Among other signatories there are great contemporary authors and Paṇḍitas like Nīlakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa, Gāgā-bhaṭṭa, Mahādeva Bhāradvāja, etc. P. K. Gode has reproduced this *Nirṇayapatra* as an Appendix to his recent paper *Some New Evidence regarding Devabhaṭṭa Mahāśabde* published in *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 129-138.

Poona were scenes of his literary activities. That he had travelled extensively is also suggested by his display³¹ of intimate knowledge of contemporary priestly customs etc. prevalent in various provinces of India.³²

NBA's works are certainly learned and versatile compilations, highly useful for the priestly class for whom they are meant. He displays his critical genius at several places, especially while furnishing citations from old authors. At some places he appears to go to the extent of criticising even Jagadguru Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, the celebrated author of the *Prayogarātna* etc. Still he does not appear to command the subtle knowledge of Nyāyavaiśeṣika and Pūrva-mīmāṃsā systems and the method of presenting old views in an admirably digested manner which form the special features of the great nibandhas composed by the celebrated scions of the Bhaṭṭa family. It was probably due to this reason that *NBA*'s compilations have not been able to enjoy a fair circulation generally and to receive high regard from posterior authors. In the course of my studies to this date I have been able to find only one author, viz. Nārāyaṇa Kumbhāri,³⁴ who cites *NBA* as an authority.

³¹ E.g. Vide Folios 93a ff of our Institute's MS No. 5642 of the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara*—
.....केचिद्दर्शपूर्णमासार्म्भे एवं संकल्पमिति वदन्ति । नैतन्मतं मीमांसानुसारिणां याज्ञिकानाम् ।
.....एतादृशेनान्वाधानेन कृतेनामेरन्वाहिता संपद्यते । तस्मात्तत्पूर्वमस्मिन्नमौ जातवेदसमभिधे-
त्यादिवक्तव्यत्वादस्मिन्नभावित्येवोक्तं प्रागुक्तलक्षणमन्वाधानमकृत्वैव अन्वाहितेऽमौ जातवेदसमित्याद्येवमुल्लेखः केन
प्रमाणेन प्राप्यते तदेतत्सद्भिर्विचारणीयम् । यत्तु आन्ध्रादिदेशे केचिदाधुनिका याज्ञिका अन्वाहितेऽमौ जातवे-
दसमुल्लेखार्थं पूर्वं समिधोऽभ्याधाय अन्वाहिततां संपाद्य अन्वाहितेऽनामेवमुल्लेखं कुर्वन्ति तदेतत्सद्भिर्न युक्तं
विचारणीयम् । मम तु तथा वा युक्तमिति प्रतिभाति । ” etc.

³² At one place (F. 5a) in the *Pūjāsāgara* *NBA* says—“...तथा घण्टाधूपदीपनैवेद्यपात्राणि
स्थाप्यानि । ग्रन्थासामीप्यादेतत्प्रमाणं न लिखितम् । ” furnishing further evidence to the fact of
Pūjāsāgara being composed at a place which was far away from his home and where the
pertinent authoritative works, deposited at his residence at Benares, were not available to
him at the time of the composition.

³³ Vide F. 154a of the above-mentioned MS of the *Gṛhyāgnisāgara*—“...भट्टैरपि प्रयो-
गरत्ने पितृयज्ञान्ते व्यतिषङ्गस्थले एवमेव फक्किा लिखितानन्तरं सप्तम्यादिश्राद्धेषु विपरीतलेखनं प्रमाणदृष्टमिति
त एव प्रष्टव्याः etc.” Vide also F. 185. But generally *NBA* shows excessive regard for
Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Rāmakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa and Kamalākaraḥṭṭa.

³⁴ Vide my forthcoming paper on this Nārāyaṇa Kumbhāri.

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BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

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NOTES AND NEWS

Madras Gita Samiti.

We have pleasure in welcoming the formation of a Gita Samiti in Madras. Its president, secretaries and treasurer are distinguished for their eminent scholarship and public service and we have high hopes of substantial results which they will be able to achieve. Below we are giving a brief report of the inaugural meeting which was held at the Gokhale Hall, George Town, Madras, on 28th April under the presidentship of the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

Welcoming the gathering, Mr. Justice Chandrasekhara Aiyar, President of the Samiti, gave a short account of the genesis and objects of the organisation. He said that the credit for forming the Samiti in Madras must go to Mr. K. M. Munshi, who was now in Madras. Mr. Munshi suggested that the message of the Gita should be popularised as was being done in North India and that efforts should be made to see that the lesson of the Gita reached the masses. The main object of the society, the speaker said, was to spread the gospel of the Gita. There was a general impression, that the Gita was the scripture of one class of Hindus and that it contained vague philosophical speculations concerning the Absolute, the Infinite and the Unknowable. Nothing was farther from the truth. In reality, far from being a privileged book of a sacerdotal order, it was a world scripture full of practical lessons for the benefit of humanity in general, and it pointed the way by which imperfect man could, in process of time, become divine. It contained plenty of practical wisdom with which they could regulate their daily lives and conduct with advantage to themselves and to society. Duty for duty's sake, action without attachment, elimination of passion, prejudice, greed, jealousy and hatred, steady pursuit of peace and unbounded faith in the oneness and universality of God, these were the lessons of the Gita for individuals and nations alike. The object of the Samiti was to bring these lessons home to the people not only in Sanskrit, and English, but also in the vernaculars; to hold examinations all over the Presidency, to award prizes and to arrange for popular lectures on the various aspects of the Gita. He hoped that a large number of persons would join the Samiti and give it support for the purpose of disseminating knowledge of the Gita. They were fortunate in having the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri to preside on the occasion and Sir S. Radhakrishnan to deliver the inaugural address.

Dr. T. M. P. Madhavan presented the report of the formation of the Samiti. The preliminary meeting for the purpose, he said, was held on April 19 at which Mr. Justice Chandrasekhara Aiyar was elected President, Mr. R. S. Venkatarama Sastri and the speaker as Secretaries and Mr. V. Govindarajachari as Treasurer.

Acharya Venkateswara Dikshitar, addressing the gathering in Sanskrit, wished the Samiti success.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that he was glad to speak on the message of the Gita, a work which had given great comfort and solace not only to millions of our countrymen through centuries, but also to many outside India. It was an epitome of the essentials of their Vedic learning and something which would help them to the realisation of the true ends of life. The book had been translated into many languages, and it had been stated by Warren Hastings that a work like this would continue to survive even when British domination in India would cease to exist. As their President had observed, the Gita was not sectarian in its teachings. It contained the root conceptions of all religions. In his introduction to the translation of the Gita, Mr. Aldous Huxley had acknowledged that it was one of the greatest works and contained a most comprehensive statement of spiritual philosophy and was of enduring value, not only to Indians but to all mankind.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan stated that it was his intention that day to invite their attention only to the central aspects of the Gita which were acceptable to all religions. The fundamental teaching of the Gita was that, behind and above the objective manifestations of the human soul, there was a Divine Reality and that by constant endeavour the human soul could have communion with the Divine. The Gita taught them that, the progressive manifestation, from

the lowest sub-conscious matter to the highly developed spiritual being, could not be regarded as the accidental expressions of caprice, but as the unfolding of a superior Reality standing behind, above and covering them all. That reality could only be described by negative descriptions. He was the Ruler governing the whole universe, the Lord of Eternal Righteousness, and they might call that Reality by whatever name they wished. If He was to be regarded as the Lord of the Universe, then, whenever the Universe demanded His presence, He would come. The Gita also taught them that man was enclosed in a number of sheaths, and if he was able to break through those sheaths, He would stand revealed. If man was to attain perfection, he must do it by constant endeavour to unravel those sheaths and must surrender himself to the Divine Will. The speaker said that this idea of complete surrender was to be found in all the religions. Jesus had said, 'Thy will be done'. Arjuna, who was at first a most selfish individual, had at the end, completely surrendered himself and said, 'I shall carry out Your Will.' There was in these cases the realisation that the Cosmic Purpose was working in the Universe and that the Universe was attuned to the Divine purpose. It was possible for all men to reach the high goal pointed out in the Gita, Sir Radhakrishnan went on to say. What was capable of being achieved by a few, was capable of being achieved by the whole of humanity. The greatest need of the day was that every human soul must endeavour to transform itself into an instrument of the Universal Purpose. If that was their goal, God Himself would surely lead them to that consummation and the best guide for them to teach the pathway was the Bhagavad Gita, which explained the three main margas, the Jnana, the Bhakti and the Karma margas.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, proceeding observed that the emphasis in the Gita was not laid on what they did, but on the spirit in which they did things. The Lord did not command Arjuna to fight, but exhorted him to do his Karma. If they were able to develop that supreme love and non-attachment, there would not be any suffering in the world and it would also be impossible to inflict suffering on other people.

Sukthankar Memorial Editions

By publishing the second volume of the published writings of the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar on the second anniversary of his death, the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee has creditably redeemed its pledge voluntarily undertaken. Immediately after Dr. Sukthankar's demise a Memorial Committee was formed with the Raja Saheb of Aundh as President, Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri as Vice-President and Prof. P. K. Gode as Honorary Secretary and Managing Editor, to bring out all the published writings of the learned savant together in book form in two volumes.

The publication of the first volume comprising "Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata" was announced at a special meeting, held on the First Anniversary of Dr. Sukthankar's death, under the Presidentship of the Right Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar, when Shri K. M. Munshi delivered a learned address on "The Historical Value of the Paraśurāma Legend" (published in the *New Indian Antiquary*, VI, pp. 217-224). The studies in the Mahābhārata, which include *Prolegomena*, the bed-rock of the Mahābhārata Textual Criticism, are the product of Dr. Sukthankar's mature knowledge blended with experience (*jñānam saviññānam*), and deserve to be included in the post-graduate courses of our Universities. Our M.A.s may then be expected to get sound initiation into the intricacies of critical editions and textual criticism. Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, has rightly advised every Hindu "that he must regard the study of it [i.e. Vol. I of Sukthankar Memorial Edition] as an indispensable part of his culture." The contents of this volume represent the high water mark of Dr. Sukthankar's scholarship and testify to his critical acumen, objectivity of approach, rigorous application of scientific methods, minute attention to details and meticulous precision and economy of words.

The Second Volume entitled "Analecta" was published on the 27th January last under the Presidentship of Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, when Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Retired Director-General of Archaeology in India, spoke on "The Present State of Indological Studies." The second volume, which contains Dr. Sukthankar's contributions to Sanskrit

Literature, Linguistics and Philology, History, Palaeography and Epigraphy, symbolises the sound equipment he had that qualified him for the onerous and stupendous task of the General Editor of the *Mahābhārata*. Even his early articles and reviews bear ample testimony to his careful precision, direct approach, style and other qualities referred to earlier, and show how he was preparing himself for undertaking the monumental work which was destined to be steered successfully by him for seventeen years. This volume shows that Dr. Sukthankar had a special leaning from early days towards textual criticism. Besides his doctoral dissertation entitled *Die Grammatik Śākaṭāyana's* and Epigraphic studies, the volume contains the whole series of articles on "Studies in Bhāsa," "Vāsavadattā," and "Miscellanea." This volume, like the first one, will no doubt amply repay perusal.

It is well known that Dr. Sukthankar was punctilious not only about the substantial contents but also about the typography and get up of any scholarly publication and carefully looked to its correct printing and proper appearance. The Memorial Committee in general and Prof. Gode in particular must be congratulated on the correct printing and fine get up, and above all, their keeping up to time, despite various difficulties.

To praise these volumes is like gilding the gold and no library will be worth its name unless it possesses a copy of the set. Owing to restrictions about paper and printing, only a limited number of copies have been printed, and once the Edition is sold out, it will be very long before a new edition can be expected. We strongly recommend these books to all students of Indology.

A. D. P.

Principal S. U. Shukla†.

It is with great grief that we have to announce the sudden demise of Principal S. U. Shukla on Friday the 20th April of heart failure. Principal Shukla was actively associated with many of the Bhavan's activities since its very inception. During March he came over to stay in the Bhavan in connection with his proposed research undertakings for which he was to be with us for about six months. A genial personality ever anxious to go out of his way to help others he seldom had the necessity to exercise his authority or right. We miss him sadly.

Born in 1905 at Bulsar, Mr. S. U. Shukla had a bright career at the Bai Avabai High School and then at the Wilson College, Bombay from where he graduated in 1926, with honours in English and Sanskrit. He was appointed as a Fellow for a year. In 1927 he proceeded to Cambridge for further studies.

At Cambridge he joined the Downing College where he studied for three years and obtained first class Tripos in Sanskrit and English. Later, he secured the Teachers' Diploma of the London University. He was called to the bar in 1931.

After his arrival in India the same year, he started his career as Principal of the Fellowship School and Professor of English in the Wilson College. In both capacities he proved to be very popular, and was loved by his colleagues and pupils.

In 1938, he was elected a fellow of the Bombay University, then Member of the Academic Council and President of the Board of Studies in Teaching, successively for two years. He was President of the Bombay Secondary Teachers' Association for the last four years and a contributor to some of the city newspapers. He was also connected with the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad and Gujarati Sahitya Sansad.

His valuable contribution to the cultural life of the city, particularly in the field of education will be long remembered and his death will be deeply mourned by his wide circle of friends, admirers and students.

THE VARUNASARMAKA GRANT OF CAMUNḌARĀJA : (GUPTA ?) YEAR 1033—A REVISED STUDY

By MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA V. V. MIRASHI

In January last Prof. Jagan Nath of Lahore drew my attention to the mention of the Gupta year in the present grant and asked me how I would reconcile the date with the accepted epoch of the Gupta era. I propose to discuss that and other allied problems here as they are of importance for the ancient history of Gujarat.

The Varuṇasarmaka plates have been edited by Muni Jinavijayaji in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Hindi-Gujarati), Vol. I, pp. 73 ff. The editor has fully discussed in a learned article several problems presented by this record. He has also drawn attention to the curious mention of the Gupta year, but after stating briefly the nature of the problem he has left the solution of it to other scholars. The plates have also been reproduced in Shri K. M. Munshi's recently published book *The Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, Part III, pl. X, but so far as I know, this question has not been discussed anywhere.

The plates were granted by the illustrious Cāmuṇḍarāja on Saturday, the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa when 1033 Gupta years had elapsed. They record the donation, to a Jain temple, of certain fields in Varuṇasarmakapura which Jinavijayaji has shown to be identical with Vaḍasamā in the Mahesānā tāluka of the Kaḍi prant in the Baroda State. The plates state that Cāmuṇḍarāja was the son of Mūlarāja and a descendant of Vyālakañci in the royal family of the Śaulikikas. His mother was Mādhavi who was a daughter of the excellent king Bhoja of the illustrious Cāhamāna family. From the description in the eulogistic portion that Cāmuṇḍarāja did not become vain though he had obtained the rank of *Yuvarāja* which (usually) causes arrogance, it is surmised that Cāmuṇḍarāja made this grant as Yuvarāja during the reign of his father Mūlarāja. This fits in with the date which, supposing that it refers to the Vikrama era, falls in the reign of Mūlarāja whose known dates range from V. 1030 to V. 1051.

There are, however, certain features of this grant which cause suspicion about its genuineness. It is not in the usual style of the Gujarat Caulukyas as noticed in the grants of Mūlarāja and his successors.¹ Secondly, if the grant was made by Cāmuṇḍarāja as *Yuvarāja*, it looks strange that he makes no mention of his father's consent, but only records his own approval at the end. Thirdly, the Cāhamāna king Bhoja, the maternal grandfather of Cāmuṇḍarāja, is otherwise unknown. Fourthly, the mention of the date 1033 as a Gupta year is incorrect. This date cannot refer to the Gupta era, the epoch of which has been fixed as A.C. 319-20; for it would not then fall in the reign of Mūlarāja. Besides, all other grants of Mūlarāja and his successors are dated in the Vikrama era which is specifically mentioned in most of them. All these point to the conclusion that the grant is spurious.

There are certain other characteristics of this grant, however, which make it not unlikely that the record is genuine. It is undoubtedly in characters of the 10th century A.C. to which it may be referred, supposing that its date is recorded in the Vikrama era. The date is fortunately given with full details and therefore admits of verification. It corresponds, for the expired Vikrama year 1033, to Saturday, the 18th November A.C. 976, on which day the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa ended 18 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.² The Cāhamāna king Bhoja, the maternal grandfather of Cāmuṇḍarāja is

¹ See e.g. the Kaḍi grant of Mūlarāja, V. 1043, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 191 ff.; the Balerā grant of the same, V. 1051, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 78 ff.; the Kaḍi grant of Bhīmadeva I, Vol. 1086, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff. etc.

² Shri MUNSHI gives 977 A.C. as the date of this grant, but in that year the *tithi* of the amānta Mārgaśīrṣa ended 20 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise on Friday, the 7th December and of the pūṇimānta Mārgaśīrṣa, on Thursday the 8th November.

no doubt unknown from contemporary inscriptions, but the Apabhraṃśa work *Kathākośa* of Śricandra³ mentions a king named Bhoja who flourished about that time and may have belonged to the Cāhamāna dynasty. Besides, the present record gives some information about the ancestry of Cāmuṇḍarāja which receives confirmation from another source. The Gujarat Prabandhakāras mention several ancestors of Mūlarāja such as Bhūyaḍa, Candrāditya, Somāditya, Bhaumāditya, Muñjāladeva, Rāji etc.⁴ none of whom with the solitary exception of Rāji are known from inscriptional records. Consequently scholars are hard put to it in reconciling the mutually conflicting testimony of the Prabandhakāras and identifying these names with those of the known historical personages. These Prabandhakāras do not generally mention Vyālakāñci who is named, in the present record as an ancestor of Mūlarāja, but, strange as it may appear, the grant is corroborated in this regard by the *Kūmārapālacaritra* of Jayasīnha which mentions Kāñcīkavyāla as the grandfather of Mūlarāja.⁵ Vyālakāñci and Kāñcīkavyāla are plainly identical. The name Vyālakāñci is too unusual to suggest itself to a forger unless it was historical. The account of the ancestry of Mūlarāja given in the *Kumārapālacaritra* which is said to have been based on tradition (*aitihya*) looks on the whole to be more trustworthy than the fanciful legends recorded by other Prabandhakāras. The old characters, the correct date and finally this striking corroboration of ancestry in one important respect—all lend their support to the view that the grant is genuine.

The question, therefore, naturally arises, how is the year 1033 of the Varuṇaśarmaka grant referred to the Gupta era? The identity of the Gupta and Vikrama eras is of course out of question; for there is overwhelming palaeographic evidence which makes it impossible that the Gupta era was founded in the first century B.C. There is ample other evidence also which unmistakably indicates that the era was founded sometime in the fourth century A.C.⁶ We must, therefore, ascribe the mention of the year 1033 as a Gupta year to the ignorance of the drafter of the record. And this is not unlikely. Even a cursory study of ancient inscriptions shows that they rarely specify the eras in which their dates are recorded. The names of the eras occur rarely and in very late records. When one era superseded another in any part of the country, one would expect that the former would be specified to prevent confusion, but such is not found to be the case. To take only one instance, the Early Gurjaras who ruled in the lower Narmadā valley, used to date their grants in the so-called Kalacuri era of 249—50 A.C. The latest of these is the Prince of Wales Museum grant of K. 486 (736 A.C.) of Jayabhaṭa IV.⁷ Thereafter, the country came under the rule of the Cālukya Pulakeśin—Avanijanāśraya, who also used the same era in his Navasāri grant of K. 490 (739 A.C.).⁸ In all these grants the years

³ I owe this reference to my friend Dr. Hiralal Jain. See the *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in C. P. and Berar*, pp. 726-27. The *Kathākośa* was composed by Śricandra who was patronised by the grandsons of Sajjana, a minister of Mūlarāja of Anahilapura. I take this Mūlarāja to be the first king of that name, the founder of the Cālukya dynasty of Gujarat. While giving his spiritual genealogy Śricandra mentions that Guṇākara who was his *parama-guru*, was honoured by Gāṅgeya, Bhoja and other kings.

गंगेयभोजदेवादि समस्तपुण्ड्रवैः । पूजितोत्कृष्टपादारविंदो विध्वस्तकल्मषः ॥ || *Ibid.* p. 727.

These, Gāṅgeya and Bhoja, also were, contemporaries of Mūlarāja and must have flourished in the 10th century A.C. They must be differentiated from the famous king Gāṅgeya and Bhoja of the Kalacuri and the Paramāra dynasty respectively, who ruled in the first half of the 11th century A.C. A Cālukya feudatory named Gāṅgeya who flourished about this time is known from the inscription of his grandson Durlabharāja, dated v. 1131 (*JBBRAS*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 257 ff.). Bhoja who was his contemporary, may have belonged to the Cāhamāna dynasty as stated in the Varuṇaśarmaka plates.

⁴ *The Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, Vol. III, p. 73.

⁵ See *Kumārapālacaritra*, canto I, v. 27.

⁶ Apart from the statement of Alberuni, discussed by Dr. Fleet, we have the testimony of Yuan Chwang who mentions Pulakeśin (II) and Saśānka as contemporary kings. Pulakeśin is known from dated inscriptions to have ruled in the first half of the 7th century A.C. The Ganjam plates of Saśānka's reign are dated in the Gupta year 300. This plainly shows that the Gupta era could not have started before 300 A.C.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.

⁸ *Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section*, pp. 211 ff.

of the Kalacuri era are introduced with the simple word *saṃvat*. Within 17 years from the last mentioned date, the country was occupied by Bhartṛvādha, a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. He used the Vikrama era in dating his Bhansot plates (A.C. 756).⁹ One would expect to find the era specified in this record, but strange as it may appear, the year of this grant also is introduced with the same word *saṃvat* without any further specifications. In many cases people were ignorant about the circumstances in which a particular era was founded or the name of the founder. This is the main reason why the so-called Vikrama era continued unspecified for several centuries. In fact, as Prof. Kielhorn pointed out long ago, the name of Vikramāditya came to be associated with that era just about this time. The earliest record¹⁰ which mentions it indubitably is the Ekalingji stone inscription of the Guhila prince Naravāhana which was incised in v. 1028 i.e. only five years before the date of the present grant.¹¹ Thereafter, down to v. 1400, it is mainly in the records of the Caulukya and Vāghela rulers of Anahilavāḍa that the name of the illustrious Vikramāditya, the reputed exterminator of the Śakas, is coupled with the years of this era¹² even as the name of Śalivāhana who also was credited with a similar achievement was first associated with the dates of the Śaka era in the records¹³ of the kings of Vijayanagara, the staunch supporters of the Hindu religion, in the fourteenth century A.C. It would therefore, appear that the awakening of national consciousness was responsible for the specification in both the cases.

The drafter of the record may thus have wrongly thought that the year in which he recorded the grant belonged to the Gupta era which, though not used at the time in the Sārasvata Maṇḍala, was current in the neighbouring country of Surāṣṭra. Perhaps, as Jinavijayaji has suggested, the grant was made by Cāmundaṛāja when he came to the town of Vāruṇaśarmaka in the course of his tour. It was not drafted in the Secretariat of the Caulukyas, which explains why it is not in the usual Caulukyian style. The drafter's mistake in referring the date to the Gupta era may, therefore, have remained uncorrected. Perhaps it was not then commonly believed that Vikramāditya was the founder of the era; for in none of the grants of Mūlarāja is his name connected with that era. It is only 53 years later in the grant of his great-grandson Bhima I that the era is first ascribed to Vikramāditya.¹⁴

It would not be out of place to discuss here the question of the original home of these Caulukyas. According to the Prabandhakāras, Rāji, the father of Mūlarāja originally came from Kalyāṇakāṭaka in Kānyakubja.¹⁵ On the strength of this description Mūlarāja is sought to be connected with the Imperial dynasty of the Gurjara-Pratihāras.¹⁶ The *Kumārāpālacarita* of Jayasinha, on the other hand, mentions Madhupadma as the original seat of the family. This place is identified by some with the holy city of Mathurā (ancient Madhupurī). No records of the Caulukyas have, however, been found in the vicinity of Kanauj or Mathurā. The legendary accounts recorded by the Prabandhakāras are so fanciful and mutually conflicting that it is best not to rely on them unless they are corroborated by contemporary inscriptions.

We know, on the other hand, from inscriptions that a Caulukya family was reigning in Central India in the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. Recently in 1930 Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archaeology, Gwalior State, found some fragments of a stone inscription at Maser in the Bhilsā District which, on palaeographic grounds he has referred to the 10th century A.C. He has published a short notice of it in the *Annual Report* of his Department for 1930-31 (p. 10), and has also supplied me an excellent impression of the record on which the follow-

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 199 ff.

¹⁰ An earlier record viz. the Dhiniki plates of Jāikadeva which mentions the year 794 of the Vikrama-saṃvatsara, is shown to be spurious. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 369 ff.

¹¹ *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 166 ff.

¹² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 405.

¹³ See Nos. 465 and 475 in Keilhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*. The supposed references to Śalivāhana in the earlier records of the Yādavas of Devagiri are shown to be incorrect.

¹⁴ See the Radhanpur grant of Bhimadeva I, V. 1086, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff.

¹⁵ See e.g. *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 11.

¹⁶ Shri MUNSHI thinks that Rāji was perhaps the daughter's son or a son-in-law of Mahipāla of Kanauj. See the *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, p. 75.

ing account is based. This inscription mentions a line of Śulki kings. Their progenitor was Bhāradvāja who was born from a drop of water which fell from the *aṅjali* of the Creator.¹⁷ The inscription mentions some kings of this line like Narasiṃha and Kesari and describes their wars with the Kalacuris, their neighbours on the east, as well as with the ruler of Lāṭa, Kacchavāha and Hūṇa kings. Narasiṃha was a feudatory of Kṛṣṇarāja who, as I have shown elsewhere,¹⁸ was identical with Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇapa, the younger brother of the Candella Dhaṅga whose known dates range from A.C. 954 to A.C. 1002. These kings therefore undoubtedly flourished in the 10th century A.C. The fragmentary state of the inscription makes it difficult to say how long this family continued to rule in Central India.

This royal family is called Śulki¹⁹ which I take to be identical with Caulukya. An earlier king of this dynasty, was Avantivarman who ruled at Mattamayūra in the 9th century A.C.²⁰ This place has not yet been identified, but it must have been situated not far from Raṇipadra (modern Rānod in the Gwalior State) where Avantivarman erected a *maṭha* for a Śaiva ascetic whom he had invited to his country. Another place in his country was Madhumati which was probably situated on the river Madhuveṇī²¹ (modern Mahuwar) a tributary of the Betwa. This part of the country became an influential seat of Śaivism. The *maṭha* at Mattamayūra supplied Śaiva pontiffs to various parts of India including the Cedi kingdom. The Caulukya princes Simhavarman, Sadhanva and Avanivarman, the ancestors of Nohalā, the queen of the well-known Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva I (*circa* A.C. 915–940) probably belonged to this very family; for the Bihāri inscription says that they too were descended from Bhāradvāja, the progenitor of the Caulukya family.²²

This family bears unmistakable affinity to the Caulukya dynasty of Gujarat. Like the latter it called itself Śulki.²³ It claimed descent from Bhāradvāja as did the family of Mūlarāja.²⁴ It was ruling over Madhumati which is probably identical with Madhupadma mentioned in the *Kumārāpālacaritra* as the original home of Mūlarāja's ancestors. Some of the names such as Narasiṃha and Kesari resemble those of Mūlarāja's ancestors Simhavikrama, Harivikrama, etc. These Caulukya kings of Central India were staunch supporters of Śaivism as were Mūlarāja and some of his descendants. All these points of similarity leave little doubt that the two families were related to each other and that Mūlarāja or his father originally hailed from Central India.

17 Cf. ननु पुरा स्वर्गोक्तं स्वामिनो धातुः पाणिपुटच्युतोदकलवाद्वीरोऽभवद्ब्रूते, शुल्कीवंशमहोदयोहित-
कृतां साक्षाद्यमो भूयतां भारद्वाज इति प्रसिद्धमहिमा in the Maser inscription.

18 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 280.

19 See the passage cited above in n. 17.

20 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 355.

21 The Madhuveṇī flows by Terahi (ancient Terambi) which was also a well-known centre of Śaiva faith.

22 See the Bihāri stone inscription, v. 30-33, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 257.

23 The dynastic name *Saulkika* mentioned in the Varuṇaśarmaka plates is evidently identical with *Śulki* with the *svārthika* affix *thak*. The Kaṭī plates of Mūlarāja give the dynastic name as *Caulukika*.

24 Cf. *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, canto VI, v. 7. सगूर्जरं हेतुरनेक भारद्वाजं वरो गीतगुणस्त्रिगङ्गम् ।

HISTORY OF INDO-MUSLIM COINS (Early Sultans of Delhi 1192-1325)

By Dr. P. M. JOSHI

When Muḥammad bin Sām came to India in 1192, the currency of Northern India consisted of gold, billon (mixture of silver and copper), and copper coins. Silver was not common till the reign of Iltutmish (1210-1235) the first silver coin of the Delhi Sultāns being issued by him in 1217 (614 A.H.).¹ Muḥammad was shrewd enough to see the importance of issuing coins on indigenous lines in preference to introducing the standard of his own country. He, therefore, adopted his earliest issues to those of established popularity and struck his gold coins in imitation of the issues of the Cauḥāns of Delhi and the Rāṭhōrs of Kanauj, retaining both the figure of Lakṣmī on the obverse and the Nāgarī lettering on the reverse for his own name.² These gold coins followed the indigenous Indian standard of 40 'ratis' (72 grains) and are between .6" and .8" in size. There is also a gold coin, weighing 172.15 grains and with a flan of .9", dated 601 (1204-05 A.C.), of Bengal issue which is remarkable as being the earliest gold 'tankah',³ the forerunner of the Mughal 'muhar'. On the obverse it gives the name and titles of Muḥammad⁴ and on the reverse, in a circle, a horseman with a mace and in the margin the date in words in Arabic and the



MUḤAMMAD BIN SĀM

A obverse Rude figure of Lakṣmī seated
reverse श्री महमद विनि साम
Wt. 66.8 grs.. Size .8"

B obverse السلطان الاعظم محمد بن سام
reverse Horseman to right खी हमीर:
Wt. 49.5 grs. Size .65"

Sultān's name in Nāgarī (खी महमद साम). The date is given in full as تسع عشره رمضان سنه احدى وستمائة corresponding to 10th May, 1205. This seems to be the only gold coin in the whole Muḥammadan series which gives the actual date, the month and the year.^{1a} No silver coins of Muḥammad bin Sām have been found, possibly none was struck.

In his billon series Muḥammad imitated his Hindu predecessors both in the device on the coins and in their weight standards, though the phraseology remained essentially Islamic.⁵ These billon coins formed the mass of the local currency and were known popularly as 'Delhiwals', meaning coins issued from Delhi or those conforming to the Delhi type. The weight of these coins was about 57.6 grains (32 ratis) and they had a bull on the obverse with the name of the Sultān in Nāgarī, and a horseman on the reverse⁶ with

¹ CMSD, 16 (No. 49H).

² Chronicles, 20; CMSD, 6 (Nos. 4, 5); IMC II, 17 (Nos. 1-3); BMSD, Nos. 30-33; Cf. CMI, 86-97 (Nos. 16-17). The Sultan's name in Nāgarī reads श्री महमद विनि साम.

³ CMSD, 67.

⁴ السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمد بن سام

^{1a} For silver issues of similar date type of Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Iwāz (1211-1227) Governor of Bengal see JASB 1873, 357; 1881, 57.

⁵ Cf. Chronicles, 14; JASB, 1883, 56 (No. 5), 1930, N. 33-35; IMCI, 257; CMI, 66-67.

⁶ CMSD, 7, 8, 9 (Nos. 10-15, 17-19, 19B-D); IMC, II, 18 (Nos. 9-16); BMSD, 9-10 (Nos. 9-19).

‘**खी हमीरः**’ the Nāgarī equivalent of the Persian **امیر** -Amir—the title used by Ghaznavi and Ghori Kings.⁷ Many of these coins have on the obverse some ornamentation along with the bull, a ‘trisol’ or a ‘sword’ or an annulet.⁸ The diameter of these coins is about ‘6”. One billon piece has an elephant and a Nāgarī legend on the obverse and Muḥammad’s name on the reverse.⁹

Besides these Dehliwāls proper there were other types of billon coins issued by Muḥammad bin Sām. One type had an Arabic legend (the Sultān’s name) on the obverse and a horseman on the reverse,¹⁰ the second type had a bull on the obverse and the Sultān’s name on the reverse and the third type had Arabic legends on both sides. In weight these types are slightly lighter than the Bull and Horseman issues.¹¹ None of the billon coins give date or mint.

The copper coins of the early Sultāns were known as ‘Adals’. Of these Muḥammad coined two varieties.¹² One has short Arabic legends on both sides forming together the first name of Muḥammad **محمّد الدنيا والدين** and the word **عدل** on some coins from which the issued gets the name. The other variety has a standing or a kneeling bull on the obverse and the words **عدل** or **مزمى**¹³ in a circle on the reverse. In size they approximate ‘6” and their average weight comes to about 50 grains.

The period (1206-1210) between the death of Muḥammad and the accession of İltutmish is uneventful numismatically except for one copper issue of Tāj-ud-dīn Yildiz which has an elephant on the obverse and the name **بلدز** and a lion on the reverse with the words **الفتح** above lion. This is the only known elephant and lion type struck by a Muḥammadan ruler in India.¹⁴ The billons of Maḥmūd and Tāj-ud-dīn Yildiz followed the model adopted by Muḥammad bin Sām.¹⁵ No gold and silver coins seem to have been struck by these two or by Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak (1206-1210) or by Ārām Shāh. Only a few copper coins of Qutb-ud-din are found. These have a standing bull on the obverse and the word **قطبى** on the reverse.¹⁶

Of İltutmish only two gold coins are at present known. In weight they follow the 40 ‘rati’ standard and both are approximately same in size. One has a flan of ‘75” and the other ‘7”. In their size and weight they thus resemble the adaptive gold coins of Muḥammad bin Sām, but otherwise they resemble Muḥammad’s gold ‘tankah’ of Bengal and are themselves issued from that province. Muḥammad has his name and titles on the obverse and a horseman with mace on the reverse with the date in words. İltutmish’s coins have an exact copy of this horseman in a circle on the obverse with the Kalimah, date in words and mint name in a circular margin and his name and titles on the reverse.¹⁷ These may be given here as they are followed with slight change in the silver issues also,

السلطان المعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر ايلتتش اقطبي القطبي امير الدومنين

The silver issues of İltutmish stand out as a landmark in the history of the silver coinage of India. His ‘tankahs’ were the model on which the ‘tankahs’ of subsequent Delhi Sultāns were based and to them can be traced the rupiah of Sher Shāh and our own modern rupee.

⁷ CMSD, 67.

⁸ IMC, II, 18 (Nos. 9-16).

⁹ JASB, 1929, N. 25, 27.

¹⁰ Cf. Pl. I, No. 3.

¹¹ CMSD, 6-10, 68; IMC II, 17.

¹² IMC, II, 18 (Nos. 17-23); CMSD, 10-11 (Nos. 24-36).

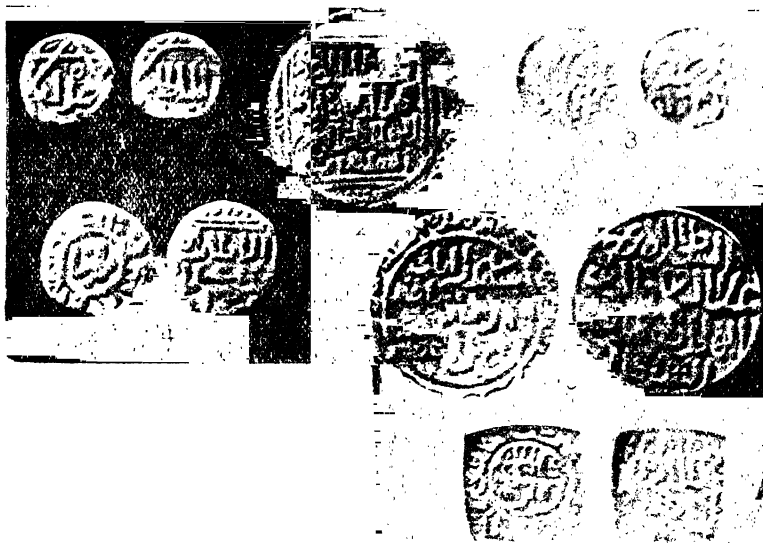
¹³ Cf. the wording **عدل شمسى** on İltutmish’s copper coins, IMC, II, 24 (Nos. 74-75) and **عدل غياثى** on Bulban’s, CMSD, 61-62; IMC, II, 35.

¹⁴ JASB 1929, N. 75. For Hindu original of this type see CMI, 63-64.

¹⁵ Rodgers (JASB, 1894, 69, No. 27) ascribes one coin to Maḥmūd which has an Arabic legend on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse.

¹⁶ CMSD, 14-15; JASB, 1894, 71.

¹⁷ CMSD, 70, Nos. 49F, 49G; JRAS, 1873, 350; Chronicles, 78. Thomas calls the horseman as an “authoritative portrait of Alutash”! The same mistake is committed by Brown, CI, 170.



1. *Iltutmish* Æ
obv. in a hexagram, 'Adl, annulet as a mint mark, dots in segments.
rev. within an irregular circle *As-Sultān*, dots, margin illegible.
2. *Iltutmish* AR C. 165 grs.
rev. double square within a circle. *As-Sultānu-l-a'zam Shamsu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn abu-l-muẓaffar Altamsh as-Sultān*, dots in segments, marginal legend in outer circle worn and incomplete.
3. *Raẓiyya* B C 54 grs.
obv. Cauhān horseman to right, around in Nāgarī *Śrī Hamīrah*.
rev. in Arabic, *As-Sultānu-l-a'ẓām Razi-yatu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn*.
4. *Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban* B C 55 grs.
obv. in circle in Arabic, Balban, around in Nāgarī, *Śrī Sultān Giyāssudīn*.
rev. in Arabic. *As-Sultānu-l-a'zam Ghiyā-su-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn*.
5. *'Alā-ud-dīn Khalji* AV 170 grs. 698 A.H.
obv. in circle, *Sikandaru-ṣ-ṣānī Yamīnu-l-Khilāfatī nāṣiru amīru-n-mominīn*; margin *Ẓurība ḥaẓīhi-s-sikkatu biḥazarati Dehli fi sinote ṣamanā wa tis 'ainā wa sittami 'ata*.
rev. as on no 2, but title *'Alāu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn*, and name *Muhammad Shāh*.
6. *Qulb-ud-dīn Mubārak* B 80 grs. 719 A.H. Square Com.
obv. in circle, *Khalījatu 'allāh Mubārak Shāh*; around, *As-Sultān al wāṣiqu bi' allāh amīru-l-mominīn*.
rev. in circle—*Al imāmu-l-a'zam Qulbu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn abu-l-muẓaffar*.
 Copyright. C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, Pl. VIII, Nos. 1-6.

The silver 'tankahs' of Iltutmish are divided by Wright into four groups. The first group includes the earliest coins, all struck in Bengal (614, 616 A.H.) under the governorship of Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Iwāz. These have on the obverse a horseman, the Kalimah and date exactly as on the gold coins. The reverse legend on one of these coins is the same as on the gold coins; on the other two the word *ناصر* is substituted for *برهان*.¹⁸ The other three groups are differentiated from each other by the names of Khalīfahs in the obverse legend. Thus on the obverse of coins belonging to group two is the name of the Khalīfah Nāsir-ud-dīn Allāh, on those of group three the name of Al Ẓahir and on the fourth that of

¹⁸ In the second gold coin this word *برهان* is dropped.

¹⁹ CMSD, 16 (Nos. 49H-J); IMC II, 20 (No. 32); JASB, 1881, 55; JRAS, 1873, 348; NC, 1885, 215.

Mustanşir Billah.²⁰ The Nāşir-ud-dīn and Al Ṣāhir groups contain only one type of coins, but the Mustanşir group can be divided into six types. First there are the commemorative issues struck to mark the arrival of the Khalīfah's diploma of investiture, an event of no small importance to İltutmish.²¹ These have the Kalimah on the obverse and the legend *في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المؤمنين* "In the reign of the Imām Al-Mustanşir, Commander of the faithful" on the reverse. Another type has the foregoing legend on the obverse with the reverse inscription as follows: — *السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر اليمش السلطان* "The supreme Sultān *Shams-ud-dunyā wa ud-dīn*, Abu'l Muẓaffar, İltutmish the Sultān".²²

This type was followed, sometimes with small variations by succeeding sovereigns and after Mustanşir's death in 1242, the name of his successor Al-Must'āşim was substituted on their gold and silver coins by the Delhi Sultāns up to and including Jalāl-ud-dīn Firūz (1294-96).²³ On another type of this group, in addition to the Kalimah and the name of the Khalīfah on the obverse, we get a quotation from the Qurān.²⁴ One more type is what we may call the 'Bilād-ul-Hind' type, as this has in the margin on the obverse no mint name but the phrase *بلاد الهند* (Cities of Ind).²⁵ The Bengal type has the name of the Khalīfah and the Sultān on the reverse.

To İltutmish also goes the credit of issuing the earliest half 'tankah'.²⁷ The weight of these coins is about 83 grains and their size 95". These are of the Bilād-ul-Hind type with obverse and reverse both in double squares and dots in segments on the obverse and no marginal legends on the reverse. The Sultān also minted silver coins of still smaller denomination; one such coin known has a size of .6" and a weight of 46 grs.²⁸ From the style of its lettering it seems to be an issue of a northern mint, possibly Lahore.

Not only did İltutmish establish the silver 'tankah' as a unit of Indian currency, he also introduced the billon 'jital' as a specific coin which dominated the billon series till 1316 when Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak came to the throne. The weight of the 'jitals' followed the 'Dehliwāls', but Thomas²⁹ is wrong in assuming that they were merely a continuation of the 'Dehliwāls'. Assay results show that the older coins contained 7 to 8 grains of silver, but the 'jitals' though similar to the Dehliwāls in general appearance, contained only about 4 grains of silver and thus were of lower value.³⁰

Like Muḥammad bin Sām, İltutmish also minted four varieties of billon coins. The first variety like the Dehliwāls, of the bull and horseman type with Nāgarī legends on both sides. In the majority of coins of this class the obverse has the Sultān's name *सुरिताण खी समयदीण* or *दिण* around the bull and the words *खी हमीर*: similarly disposed on the reverse.³¹ Some have on the obverse the legend *मुस्तसिर अमीर लि मौमिनां* the Nāgarī transcription (not very accurate) *المستنصر امير المؤمنين* and *खी षलीफ*: on the reverse equivalent to *خليفة*. Some have *खी षलीफ*: on the obverse and *खी हमीर*: on the reverse.³² To this class also may be assigned the coins which mark the acknowledgment of İltutmish's suzerainty by Cāhaḍa Deva of Nārwar.³³

²⁰ *CMSD*, 17-21; *BMSD*, Nos. 35-37; *IMC* II, 20-21; *JRAS*, 1960, 482, 771.

²¹ *Chronicles* 46, 53, *CMSD* No. 50C; *IMC* II, 20 (No. 34); for the Delhi Sultans' position vis-a-vis the Khalīfah see Arnold, "The Caliphate", 86-88.

²² *CMSD*, No. 52; *IMC*, II, 21 (No. 39); *JRAS*, 1900, 771; *JASB*, 1881, 66; Pl. 1, 2.

²³ Cf. *IMC* II, 26, 29, 37; *CMSD*, Nos. 187-189, 219 et. sq., 280 et. sq. Brown's statement (*C. I.* 70) that Mustanşir's name continued on the coins twenty years after his death is wrong.

²⁴ *N. C.* 1921, 340; *CDL*, No. 29; *CMSD*, No. 50F.

²⁵ *NC*, 1921, 339-340; *IMC* II, 21 (No. 39); *JASB*, 1881, 66.

²⁶ *CMSD*, No. 53A; *JRAS*, 1873, 367.

²⁷ *JASB*, 1916, 129; *CMSD*, No. 53.

²⁸ *IMC*, II, 21 (No. 40).

²⁹ *Chronicles*, 47.

³⁰ Cf. *CMSD*, 72, 74, 403.

³¹ *IMC*, II, 22 (Nos. 42-51); *CMSD*, Nos. 54-67B; *JASB*, 1880, 209 (No. 8).

³² *CMSD*, Nos. 62-80.

³³ *Chronicles*, 70; *IMC*, II, 24 (Nos. 77-79); *CMSD*, Nos. 81, 81A. Cf. *CMI*, 92,

The second variety of Iltutmish's 'jitals' have an Arabic legend on the obverse (the Sultāns 'julūs' i.e. accession and other names) and a horseman on the reverse with the words **खी हमीरः** in some cases.³⁴ On others the reverse has part of the Sultān's name **التمس السلطان** continued from the obverse.³⁵ These letter types also give the name of the mint on the obverse, being the first among the billon coins of the Delhi Sultāns to do so.

The third variety has an Arabic legend (the Sultān's name) on the obverse within a circle, with the date in words and mint in the outer circle and the Sultān's name in Nāgarī and the Samvat date in ciphers, **खी सुल्तान इलितिमिसि सं. १२८३**. The fourth variety has together on both sides the name of the Sultān.³⁶

All the four varieties follow the 32 'rati' standard.

The copper coins of Iltutmish, or ('adals' as they are known) can be divided into three groups. One group has Arabic legends on both sides, the second has Arabic on the obverse and Nāgarī on the reverse and the third has **شس** on the reverse and a horseman on the reverse. The word **عدل** from which the coins get their name can be seen on almost all pieces. The weight of these coins varies from 8 grains to about 60,³⁷ and the series was not divided into denominations. The ornamentations on them also show variety, but generally the legends are enclosed in hexagrams. 'Adals' of Iltutmish's period but without his name were also current in his day and they weigh from 9.5 to 66.5 grains.³⁸

Iltutmish's monetary policy was comprehensive. "That he established the silver 'tankah' and billon 'jital' on a firm footing was in itself a remarkable achievement. The influence of his silver 'tankah' may be said to have continued down to the present day. His incorporation of the indigenous 32 'rati' standard into his currency scheme was a skilful move which made for both popularity and permanence. Iltutmish may also be credited with extending to India the trans-frontier practice of putting on the 'tankah' the name of the mint-town (and we may add, date) a practice which was continued in subsequent years by his successors and to a still greater extent by the Sūris and the Mughals. Moreover, he enhanced the importance to be attached to the currency by complete provision which he made in the copper coinage for the needs of all, even to the poorest."³⁹

No gold coins of the three succeeding sovereigns, Rukn-ud-din Firūz (1235), Rāziyya (1236-1240) and Bahrām (1240-1242) are available. Gibb mentions⁴⁰ two of Rāziyya but neither has been published and only one gold coin of 'Alā-ud-din Masūd (1242-1246) of the Mustansir class is yet found.⁴¹ The latter is a Bengal issue and follows the 96 rati standard of Muḥammad bin Sām's Bengal coin and not the 40 rati standard of the Hindu style issue of Muḥammad and Iltutmish. It is also notable because it marks the end of the Hindu influence on the gold coins of the Delhi Sultāns. The provenance of Masūd's and subsequent gold issues is trans-Indian.

The silver coins of these four sovereigns follow those of Iltutmish. Their weights are in conformity with the 96 rati standard and in size they average 1". As a rule they give in the margin, on the obverse, the mint name and date in words. In the case of some coins these two facts are mentioned on the margin on both sides. Both Rukn-ud-din and Rāziyya sought to enhance the security of their tenure by stamping the name of Iltutmish their father, on their coins and giving him the higher title **الاعظم** (the supreme) while styling themselves as **الاعظم** (the great).⁴² Rāziyya also issued silver coins only in the name of her father and in her Bengal issues she styled herself as the daughter of Iltut-

³⁴ *IMC*, II, 23 (Nos. 55-58); *CMSD*, Nos. 82-99; Cf. *JRAS* 1900, 482-483.

³⁵ *CMSD*, Nos. 100-102A; *IMC*, II, 23-24 (Nos. 62-64). Cf. *JASB*, 1880, 209 (10).

³⁶ *CMSD*, Nos. 121-122B.

³⁷ *CMSD*, Nos. 122D-133; *IMC*, II, 24 (Nos. 71-76); *Chronicles* 77; *N. C.* 1921, 241; *JRAS*, 1900, 483; *JASB*, 1894, 69 (No. 24).

³⁸ *CMSD*, 33-37.

³⁹ *CMSD*, 75.

⁴⁰ *NC*, 1885, 216.

⁴¹ *JASB*, 1910, 149; *CMSD*, No. 187A.

⁴² *NC*, 1885, 215; 1921, 341-342; *JASB*, 1894, 66; *CMSD*, 153D, 161A-D.

mish,⁴³ and her brother struck some in his own name.⁴⁴ Both placed the name of Mustanşir on the obverse and some pieces of Rukn-ud-din's have the Kalima and a quotation from the Qurān in addition.

The billon coins of Ruknu-ud-din, Raḡiyya and Bahrām closely follow the first three types of İltutmish in weight, legends and silver contents.⁴⁵ Of these three only Raḡiyya issued copper coins and struck a line of her own in reviving the rayed circle type of Qutb-ud-din, and adding on the obverse a Nāgarī legend.⁴⁶ 'Alā-ud-din Masūd's billon coins show lower silver content than those of İltutmish and his three successors, but in weight and legends they follow the earlier issues.⁴⁷

With the reign of Nāṣir-ud-din Maḥmūd I (1246-1266) gold begins to assume larger importance in the currency. He seems to have issued more gold coins⁴⁸ than any of his predecessors and he followed the 96 rati standard laid down by 'Alā-ud-din Masūd. In silver he issued the standard 'tankah' in the name of Khalifah Must'āsim, and also a half 'tankah' bearing identical inscriptions. He also issued small silver coins weighing a 'māṣa' and representing one-twelfth of a 'tankah'.⁴⁹ He is thus the first Delhi Sultān to issue silve coins of small denominations than a 'tankah'. The legends on the small silver are necessarily limited by the size of the coins and are very simple, the obverse and reverse together giving the name of the Sultān السلطان المعظم ناصر الدين. Similarly in billon he struck coins of lower denominations than the 'jital'; a coin equal to two-thirds of a 'jital' and another equal to one-third. The legends on all three denominations are the same, the Sultān's name on the obverse and a horseman and a Nāgarī legend (छी हमीरः) on the reverse.⁵⁰ In copper he followed İltutmish but introduced the practice of giving the honorific title حضرت along with the mint name Dehli, as on the gold and silver coins.

The gold and silver 'tankahs' of Balban (1266-1287) and Kaiqubād (1287-1290) and the silver 'tankahs' of the short reign of young Kayūmars (1290) follow the standardized type legends in circular areas for gold and in square areas for silver. The gold and silver coins of Jalāl-ud-din Firūz (1290-1296) the first Khalji Sultān also continue the same type and all have on the obverse the name of Khalifah Must'āsim.⁵¹ Last of the 'Abbāsāids, though he had been put to death by the Mongols in 1258.⁵² All these kings also issued small silver coins of about 14 grains introduced by Nāṣir-ud-din. In addition to the 'māṣa' pieces (1/12 of a tankah) Kaiqubād issued two other denominations, a four 'māṣa' piece or 1/3 of a 'tankah' weighing 56 grains and a two 'māṣa' coin or 1/6 'tankah' of about 27.5 grains.⁵⁴ These, however, do not seem to have proved popular, as with the exception of Mubārak Khalji (1316-1320) no Sultān minted the latter and Kaiqubād was the only Delhi Sultān to have coined the former variety.

Balban was the last king to mint the horseman variety of billon and he started a new bilingual type which was copied by most of his successors till it was discontinued by Muḥammad bin Tughluq. This had an Arabic legend on the obverse and a bilingual reverse.⁵³ 'Alā-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316) also inscribed the Hijri date in Nāgarī ciphers on the reverse of his coins.⁵⁶ These billon pieces were equal to 1/24 of a 'tankah' and have an

⁴³ *CMSD*, No. 161-B-D; *JASB*, 1867, 39; 1881, 57, 58.

⁴⁴ *JRAS*, 1900, 772; *IMC*, II, 26; *NC*, 1921, 341.

⁴⁵ *CMSD*, 39, 41, 42, 44, 46, 77.

⁴⁶ *JASB*, 1894, 67 (No. 17); *IMC*, II, 27.

⁴⁷ *CMSD*, 77, 47-52; *Chronicles*, 122-123; *IMC*, II, 30-31.

⁴⁸ *NC*, 1885, 216; 1921, 343; *CMSD*, 52; *JASB*, 1886, 188 (No. 11).

⁴⁹ *JASB*, 1886, 189 (No. 16); 1894, 68 (No. 21); *NC*, 1921, 343; *CMSD*, No. 227.

⁵⁰ *CMSD*, 56-57; *IMC*, II, 33.

⁵¹ *NC*, 1921, 343-344; 1885, 217-219; *JASB*, 1894, 66; 1904, 66; *CMSD*, 58-59, 63-64, 66, 83-84.

⁵² Cf. Arnold, "The Caliphate", 87.

⁵³ *CMSD*, 60, 64, 84; *NC*, 1921, 344.

⁵⁴ *JRAS*, 1900, 484; *JASB*, 1916, 130-131; *CMSD*, 64.

⁵⁵ *IMC*, II, 34. See Pl. I, 4. ⁵⁶ *IMC*, II, 42; *BMSD*, 41-42.

average silver content of 4.25 grains. 'Alā-ud-dīn issued another variety also with a higher silver content and equal to 1/12 of a tankah. This has Arabic legends on both sides with the date on the reverse in ciphers.⁵⁸ The billon coins of Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Khaljī stand in a class by themselves. He issued no less than eight types ranging in size from .5" to .7" with Arabic legends on both sides and the date in ciphers. He was the first to introduce the 48 rati- (86.4 grs.) 'jital' and the silver contents of his billons are higher than even those of 'Alā-ud-dīn.⁵⁹ In copper 'Adals' ranging from 10 grains to 38 in weight and .35" to .5" in size continued to be struck till the end of the Khaljī dynasty. Heavier coins were also minted and Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq issued only these varying from 46 to 70 grains. These give no date but the obverse السلطان الازلي and reverse غيث الدنيا و الدين together give the name and title of the Sultān.⁶⁰

In gold and silver issues from the beginning of the Khaljī dynasty marginal inscriptions are not found on both sides but on one side only, usually on the reverse. The titles show change and become more high-sounding. 'Alā-ud-dīn had only one formula for both his gold and silver coins wherein he calls himself "Second Alexander", "Right hand of the Caliphate, helper of the faithful".⁶¹ But Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak used a variety of inscriptions. His typical gold tankah has on the obverse الامام الاعظم خليفه رب العالمين قطب الدنيا والدين ابو الطاهر مباركشا and on the reverse السلطان ابن السلطان with the mint with its honorific title and date in words.⁶² Mubārak thus disowns allegiance to the Caliphate and arrogates to himself the title of Khalifah. On the reverse of his silver coins he follows 'Alā-ud-dīn but in some cases styled himself اسکندرالزمان (Alexander of the age).⁶³

In gold and in silver 'Alā-ud-dīn was the first Delhi Sultān to introduce square coins. His square gold and silver tankahs follow the established 96 rati standard and have the same legends as on the round coins.⁶⁴ The square pattern was used much more extensively by Mubārak who also issued a square 1/3 'tankah' in gold and half-tankahs and 1/6 tankahs in silver. These coins are of exquisite workmanship with clear inscriptions which it is indeed a delight to read.⁶⁵ Mubārak's successors reverted to the round type and their coinage runs on conventional lines.

We may now sum up our initial survey of the coins of the Delhi Sultāns. The coinage was issued in four metals, gold, silver, billon and copper. Except for the gold coins Muḥammad bin Sām and İltutmish, gold coins were guided by the 96 rati standard originally adopted by İltutmish for his silver coins. The latter were known as 'tankahs' and as the gold coins had the same weight standard they can be called gold 'tankahs', the ratio of silver tankahs to gold tankahs being 10 : 1. In the case of the gold 'tankahs' the legends on obverse generally occupies the whole face and the legend on the reverse is in a circle, with the date and mint in the outer circle.⁶⁶ In the case of silver coins both the obverse and reverse legends are enclosed in double squares, a convention not very strictly followed. The margin on the obverse has dots, whereas that on the reverse gives the date. The coin legends, when they do not contain the name of a Khalifah, begin on the obverse with السلطان الاعظم (the Supreme Sultān), then comes the 'julūs' or accession name, say e.g. علا الدنيا و

⁵⁷ *CMSD*, 80, 106.

⁵⁸ *IMC*, II, 41; *CMSD*, 91-92, 107.

⁵⁹ *CMSD*, 99-102, 108. See Pl. I, 5.

⁶⁰ *JASB*, 1921, 160; *CMSD*, 115.

⁶¹ Cf. Pl. I, 5; *Chronicles*, 168.

⁶² *CMSD*, 96 (Nos. 367A, 370); *Chronicles*, 180; *IMC*, II, 44 (No. 244). The English rendering of the titles is as follows:—"The Supreme Imām, Khalifah of the Lord of the two worlds, Qutb-ud-dunyā-wa-ud-dīn, father of the conqueror, Mubārak Shāh Sultān ibn Sultān, Confider in Allah, Commander of the faithful."

⁶³ *CMSD*, No. 371.

⁶⁴ *NC*, 1885, 219; 1934, 236; *CMSD*, Nos. 306, 323; *JRAS*, 1900, 455.

⁶⁵ *Chronicles*, 179, 181; *IMC*, II, 43 (Nos. 243, 248-250); *CMSD*, Pls. IV, V and 96-99.

⁶⁶ One gold coin of 'Alā-ud-dīn has its reverse struck from a silver die and so has the legend in a double square. *CMSD*, No. 305, 106.

الدين followed by a pseudo-patronymic (كنيت) ابوالمظفر or something similar ابوالمجاهد سلطان or شاه, etc.), then the name of the Sultān and lastly or both. The reverse gives all the titles which the Sultān claims for himself. The commonest billon type has clearly a weight of 32 ratis (57.6 grains). This comprises the large series called the Bull and Horseman type, and continues later as the 'jital' without the devices till the days of the Mughals. Now these coins are often of different types in the same reign, and one type contains much more silver than another. This is particularly noticeable in the billon struck by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khalji. We may reasonably assume that from Iltutmish to Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, the billons of the Nāgarī legend variety had the same value, about one-twenty-fourth of a tankah. In copper Iltutmish initiated the 40 rati (72 grs.) fulis which, after being revived by Balban were continued by all the Khaljis Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq (1320-1325) seems to have worked on the 32 rati standard⁶⁷ for the majority of his copper coins, only one or two of his 40 rati 'fulūs' are known.

Mention may also be made about the names of mints on the coins. As the extent of the dominion of the Delhi Sultāns increases by conquest newer mints appear on the coins. Mention may be made of Deogīr and Qutbābād the other name for Deogīr on the coins of 'Alā-ud-dīn and Mubārak Khalji.⁶⁸ Similarly the generic mint name Mulk-i-Telang on a gold coin of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq may also be noted.⁶⁹

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(Note : Abbreviations used are in italics.)

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⁶⁷ *JASB*, 1921, 160 ; *IMC*, II, 50 ; *CMSD*, 115, 156.

⁶⁸ *CMSD*, Nos. 305C, 321, 370, 374A.

⁶⁹ *CMSD*, No. 433.

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*.

² *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE

I. Ghorids

A. H.		A.D.
589-602	.. Muḥammad bin Sām	.. 1193-1206
602	.. Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad	.. 1206
	.. Tāj-ud-dīn Yildiz	..

II. Slave Kings

602-607	.. Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak	.. 1206-1210
607	.. Arām Shāh	.. 1210-1211
607-633	.. Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish	.. 1211-1236
633-634	.. Rukn-ud-dīn Firūz	.. 1236
634-637	.. Rāziyya	.. 1236-1240
637-639	.. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Bahrām	.. 1240-1242
639-644	.. 'Alā-ud-dīn Mas'ūd	.. 1242-1246
644-664	.. Nāṣir-ud-dīn Maḥmūd	.. 1246-1266

III. House of Balban

664-686	.. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban	.. 1266-1287
686-689	.. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād	.. 1287-1290

IV. Khaljīs

689-695	.. Jalāl-ud-dīn Firūz	.. 1290-1296
695	.. Rukn-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm	.. 1296
695-715	.. 'Alā-ud-dīn Muḥammad	.. 1296-1316
715-716	.. Shihāb-ud-dīn 'Umar	.. 1316
716-720	.. Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak	.. 1316-1320
720	.. Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khusrav (Usurper)	.. 1320

V. Tughluqs

720-725	.. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq	.. 1320-1325
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‘ENDINGLESS’ GENITIVE IN APABHRAṂŚA

By Prof. H. C. BHAYANI.

According to Hemacandra's Prakrit grammar (IV 345, *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ*. Com. on this sūtra : *apabhramṣe ṣaṣṭhyā vṛhaktiyāḥ prāyo luḥ bhavati*) the ending of the genitive is occasionally dropped in Apabhraṁśa ; that is, the bare stem in Apabhraṁśa can function as a genitive form. That the rule has for its basis some genuine Apabhraṁśa grammatical tradition is indicated by the *Vālmikisūtras* which too teach (see III, 4, 16 : *ṇamo luḥ*) the same thing. Alsdorf (see *Apabhraṁśa-Studien*, p. 56 ff.) raises objections against this rule and after an examination of the alleged examples of such genitives advanced by Hemacandra and Pischel (see *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṁśa*, stanzas 384 ; 401, 3 ; 332, 2 ; 356 ; I and XVIII) he attempts to establish that in the available Apabhraṁśa linguistic material one does not come across a single form which can be genuinely regarded as an endless genitive. All the alleged cases of such forms can be more justly looked upon as previous members of regular or loosely formed compounds. It is, Alsdorf thinks, from such loosely formed compounds that the rule regarding the ‘endless’ genitive must have come to be abstracted, but in a scientific treatment of Apabhraṁśa grammar it cannot claim a place.

Now, though it is true that in the stanzas cited by Hemacandra or elsewhere in the Apabhraṁśa literature come to light so far there is nothing to indicate that Apabhraṁśa employed bare stems as genitives, still if one takes into account later linguistic developments, there is much to create a strong presumption in favour of a factual basis for the rule given by the ancient Apabhraṁśa grammarians. Thus, for example, in Ḍingal or Old Mār-wārī literature cases of genitively used bare stems occur apace. In the language of the *Veli Krisan-Rukamaṇi-rī* such forms are not anything like casual, but they make up a regular category of forms. But we can now quote some cases of endless genitives from Apabhraṁśa also. As shown below the language of the *Samdeśarāsaka*¹ exhibits several such forms. Of course, the Apabhraṁśa of the *Samdeśarāsaka* (to be dated in the 13th or the 14th century A.C.) is late and considerably vernacularised, still it preserves many more Apabhraṁśa traits than we find in the language of the *Prākṛtapaṅgala* and hence its claim to be called Apabhraṁśa cannot be rejected in fairness.

There are several cases in the *Samdeśarāsaka* regarding which we have to concede without doubt that they are but genitively used naked stems. They are :

1. *avara kaha²-va ṇivaḍa-bbhara-ghaṇa-tuṅga-tthaṇihi*
bharaṇa majjhu ṇahu tuṭṭai tā vimbhiu maṇihi (47ab).

‘It is a wonder to (one's) mind that the waist of another (courtesan) does not break down under weight because of (her) compact, heavy, plump and high breasts.’

Here *avara* stands for *avaraha* = *aparasyāḥ*.

2. Similarly at 51ab :

avara kaha-va varamuddha hasantiya aharayalu soḥālau.

‘The petal-like nether lip of another smiling beautiful damsel (appears) full of charm.’

Here *varamuddha* also is to be construed as a genitive.

In the light of the above two cases it is better to explain 51d in the same manner :

avara kavola kalijjai dāḍima-kusuma-dala.

¹ It is edited by Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni and is to be shortly published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

² Here it can be suggested that the genitive ending is to be supplied to *avara* from the next word *kaha*. Alsdorf (*Apabhraṁśa-Studien*, p. 6) explains away *gaya mattahā* (Hemacandra IV, 383, 3) in this fashion. But an examination of other cases considered here makes that explanation less commendable.

'Another one's cheeks can be looked upon as petals of the pomegranate flower.'

3. kahau kimpi saṁdesau *piya* tucchakkharahi (68b).

'I may tell (you) in paltry words some message for (my) dear husband.'

That here *piya* is equivalent to *piyaha* is proved by *bhaṇai pahiya* (85b) '(she) says to the traveller', *mālinivittu kahivvau ikka-i taha khalaha* (99d) 'one Mālinivṛtta also is to be conveyed to that wicked person,' *piyaha kahiya hiva ikka maḍila* (110d) 'further one Maḍilā is to be conveyed to (my) dear husband,' and numerous other such instances. In all these cases verbs like √*kaha*- √*bhana*- signifying 'tell' 'say' etc. govern the genitive. Similar cases where *piya* stands for *piyaha* are *gāha padhijjasu ikka piya* (71d) 'please recite one gāthā to (my) dear husband,' *bhaṇa piya* (80b) 'tell to (my) dear husband', *dohā gāha kahijja piya* (88b) 'please tell a dohā and a gāthā to (my) dear husband,' *kahiya, pahiya! piya gāha* (92d) 'O traveller, please tell a gāthā to my dear husband,' also *appaha niddaya kimpī bhane* (95b) 'what possibly shall I say regarding myself to (that) cruel person', where *niddaya* = *niddayaha*.

4. *piya* virattu hui cittu, pahiya! kima vaṭṭiyai (101d). '(But if), O traveller the heart of the dear one becomes estranged how is one to pull on?'

Here *piya* going with *cittu* cannot be construed in any other way except by taking it to be equivalent to *piyaha*.

5. jasu *pavasanta*, na pavasiā (70a).

'On whose going abroad, (I also) did not leave (with him).'

Here *jasu pavasanta* = *jasu pavasantaha*. It is a genitive absolute.

6. pahiū bhaṇai, pahi janta amangalu maha ma kari (109a).

'The traveller said: do not give rise to any inauspiciousness while I am setting out on (my) way'. Here *janta* going with *maha* is equivalent to *jantaha*.

7. tuya *sumaranta* samāhi-mohu visam'utṭhiyau (86a).

'While cherishing thy memory (I) became overwhelmingly subject to samādhi in the form of swooning.'

Here *tuya* means *tava* and *sumaranta* is equivalent to *sumarantaha*. This usage of the genitive of the present participle as an absolute phrase is peculiar to Old Western Rājasthāni and is still quite living in Modern Gujarātī.

Similar to this are:

kāha-va diṇa pāiu

geu *giranta*, paḍhantaha pāiu (157ab).

'While singing songs and reciting Prakrit, the final day (of the rainy season) was somehow reached.'

maṇi *sumaranta* virahannāsāṇu,

daḍkhiṇa-maggu ṇiyantaha bhattihi,

diṭṭhu Aitthirisu mai jhattihi (158d-159ab).

'While cherishing the memory of one who can put an end to separation and while looking devoutly to the road in the south, I all of a sudden saw the sage Agastya (i.e. Canopus).'

These cases would banish all doubts as to the use of a bare stem as a genitive form in late Apabhraṁśa and they also make it strongly probable that in the Apabhraṁśa known to Hemacandra and Trivikrama such genitives really occurred.

INTROSPECTIVE SPECULATION OF THE JAIN EPISTEMOLOGY

By SHRI AJITARANJAN BHATTACHARYA

There exists a sharp difference of opinion among Philosophers of different Schools as to the question how Cognition or Knowledge is known. Some of the Indian thinkers as also the western thinkers who deny the possibility of Introspection would emphasise that Knowledge can never be known. This is the position taken by the Sāṃkhya, the Prabhākara and the Advaita Vedānta schools of Indian Philosophy and Comte Dunlop and others of the Western Philosophy. "The case against Introspection urges that there is a dualism of subject and object that the subject can never become object and therefore there can be no awareness of an awareness . . . knowing there certainly is ; the known certainly is not . . . for I am never aware of an awareness."¹

But it cannot be denied that when I am aware of something, I am aware of being aware of it, be it by Introspection or otherwise. To know something means to know that something is known. Now, how is it that knowledge is known ?

The Sāṃkhya, the Prabhākara and the Saṅkara schools hold that knowledge becomes never an object of another knowledge. It is known by itself. Cognition or knowledge is a conscious fact and it is the very nature of consciousness to be known by itself. According to Prabhākara who advocates the theory of true perception,² every knowledge manifests itself and at the same time it manifests an object and the knowing subject. It is a simultaneous manifestation of three things viz. the knowledge, the object and the knower. Saṅkara holds knowledge to be the very stuff of the self in as much as it is selfmanifested and self-shining.³ Every cognition is self-cognised and consciousness is full and complete awareness of something by self. It is a sort of cognitive monism which asserts that all conscious processes are identified and self-revelatory and the self in being conscious of anything is contemporaneously aware of itself. When I perceive something outside myself I am not only aware of that something but also of myself perceiving that something. I am aware of my awareness in the very act of being aware of an object and *what is true of perception, is equally true for the whole range of conscious processes*. This self-cognition is the last stronghold of Epistemological monism, for if the identity between the subject and the object exists at all it is in self cognition.

This cognitive monism, no doubt, possesses an attractive simplicity and plausibility but it may be criticised on the following grounds. The immediate self-awareness whereby self is supposed to turn back as it were upon itself is an obscure and mysterious process. How can a conscious event which exists by itself also be cognisant of itself. The bare self-identity with consciousness precludes the duality of subject and object which is so very essential to every act of knowledge. Mr. Alexander believes that it is possible for the self to contemplate an object and at the same time enjoy itself.⁴ But Self-enjoyment entertained at all in the form other than a Conscious process has got no cognitive significance whatsoever. So "Enjoyment" of Alexander is nothing but a genuine cognition. Moreover, cognition is a peculiarly unfortunate term to designate immediate self-apprehension, for, to 'Cognise' is a transitive verb and thus Cognition must be of something. Cognition suggests a duality

¹ Dunlop, Psychological Reviews, September 1912.

² See Prakaraṇa Pañcīkā Benares Edition P. 59 and Brhaṭi, Madras University p. 76, "Samvedyatayaivahi Samvedyatāmavagacchāmaḥ na Viśayatayā".

³ Cf. Vedānta Paribhāṣā Chap. 1, p. 82, Calcutta University, "tatra Pramātureva viśayatayā tadubhayābhedasya Sattvāt."

Cf. also Pancadaśī verses 3-7, 1st Chapter, Tattvaviveka.

⁴ Space, time and deity, Vol. 1, pp. 11-20.

between the cognising and the Cognised⁵ which is precisely what Prabhākara and Śaṅkara are anxious to avoid.⁶

The reflective theory of self-cognition, propounded by the Sāṅkhya, is certainly more satisfactory than the theory of immediate self-cognition; but it is not without its peculiar difficulties. A strong objection to the reflective theory of cognition is that the self is only apprehending its reflection and not itself just as the eye looking at itself in a mirror is not seeing *itself* but an image of it. The Naiyāyikas, therefore, hold that knowledge is known by Introspection. According to them Cognition manifests not itself but the object other than itself. A Cognition manifests an object. That cognition, again, is manifested by another that follows it and makes it an object of itself. First of all there is a Cognition of an object and then another Cognition coming after it cognises the first, that is an after-cognition (*anuvyavasāya*) of the first cognition.⁷ It asserts, therefore, that every cognition is directly cognised. It is only when the self or mind attends to and casts an Introspective glance at it, that one cognition is known or perceived. Accordingly Prof. Laird observes that "our cognitive processes are in the usual exercise, processes with which (not at which) we look and none of them, perhaps, can look at itself. It does not follow, however, that another introspective look cannot be directed towards this process of looking."⁸ Stout also emphasises that "Psychological states as such become objects only when we attend to them in an Introspective way. Otherwise, they are not themselves objects, but only constituents of the process by which objects are cognised."⁹ This necessarily implies that one cognition is known by another in the form of Introspection; but the simultaneous presence of two cognitions creates a difficulty. The Naiyāyikas do not believe in the presence of contemporary two cognitions. The cognition which is cognised by another cognition is really past in relation to the second cognition and, therefore, they cannot be regarded as simultaneous.¹⁰

The Syādvādins, however, hold that there is no difficulty in admitting the possibility of simultaneous cognitions in the process of Introspection. A particular state of self cannot be directly cognised by itself. For if S is a unified state of self it cannot perform the dual role of subject and object. The only conceivable relation which we can obtain between a thing and itself is that of self-identity; but this is incompatible with the duality requisite for the cognitive relation. So it must be maintained that S is not a completely unified state of self but one which contains an inner duality (*Dravya* and *Paryāya*) namely S and S' and that one of its aspects, say S' cognises the other aspect S which is so intimately related with the self.¹¹ The situation is no longer one of cognitive monism, for S is not known by S but by another state S' which is intimately related with the first. This theory of Introspective dualism which is simply epistemological dualism as applied to the Introspective Situation of the Syādvādins, recognises that all Introspection involves the numerical duality of the process of Introspecting and the real object introspected.¹²

⁵ Cf. also the dictum *Karmakarttvirodha*.—'Svātmani Kriyāvirodhāt.'

⁶ See also Syādvādamāñjari, pp. 92-97 (Ladhaji).

⁷ See Tārīkarakṣā, Benares Edition, p. 53, Tattvadīpikā, Cal. Edition p. 32.

⁸ Contemporary British Philosophy, first series p. 227.

⁹ Manual of Psychology, p. 134.

¹⁰ Cf. also, trikṣaṇavṛttitvam Vā Vācyam, and *Supra*, Siddhānta muktāvali Vidyānidhi edition, p. 22.

¹¹ Brahmadeva's Commentary, Davvasaṃgaha Bibliotheca Jainica, Vol. I, p. 1.

¹² See, Pramāṇamīmāṃsā with commentary, 36, 37, 38.

DERIVATION OF CĀLUKYA AND CĀHAMĀNA

By Prof. D. R. MANKAD

There has been a long-drawn controversy on the question of the origin of the Cālukyas, Cāhamānas and other Rajput tribes. The latest writer on the subject Shri K. M. Munshi comes to a very cautious conclusion.¹ He says that even if these tribes were foreign in origin, they had migrated and settled in India in very early times and by c. 500 A.C., they had been thoroughly Indianised and had become, for all practical purposes, Indian. This theory keeps an open mind about their ultimate origin, but it asserts that about the time when they came to power (i.e. c. 500 A.C.) they were true Indians. I consider this view to be quite correct. I think that these tribes, in ancient past had inhabited the country to the north-west of India, but in c. 500 A.C. they were completely Indianised. All the evidence we possess goes to show that in c. 500 A.C., these tribes considered themselves and were considered by the people also as indigenous Indian tribes. But the Agni-kula legend, on the other hand, does indicate a memory of their foreign origin. I do not wish to discuss the whole question here. I only wish to suggest the derivation of the two words—Cālukya and Cāhamāna—which, I think, would throw some light on this question.

The usual etymology of *Cālukya* from *Culuka* is manifestly fanciful. It only shows that the Indian students of the day, did not know the origin of the word. The word *Cālukya* is also spelt as *Solanki*. And, I suggest, that the word is to be derived from a name like Seleucos. Phonetically there can be absolutely no objection in connecting the two words. Of course, whether it was Seleucos Nikator or some other Seleucos who gave the name to the tribe is, at present, beyond our knowledge. Seleucos Nikator had founded a house and its descendants might be described after his name. If Cālukyas were connected with this Seleucos it would give sufficient time (from c. 300 B.C. to 500 A.C.) for them to migrate into India and get absorbed in the Indian society by c. 500 A.C.

Similarly the word *Cāhamāna* also looks foreign in origin. The ending *māna*, I think, can be connected with the ending *vāhana* (as in *Śālivāhana*)—*vāna*—*māna*. This *vāna-vāhana*, I think, is in its turn connected with the ending *pāna* as in *Nahapāna*. *vāna-pāna-māna* can interchange phonetically. Again, this *pāna* can be connected with endings like 'phern' and 'phan' as in *Gondophernes*, *Xenophan*. An ending like *pharṇa* or *parṇa* can yield *pāna*. And I should point out that all these endings *pāna*—*pharnes*—*phan* were once prevalent in countries to the North-west of India.

In this connection it is noteworthy that the Purāṇas name a king Śākyamāna to have been the ruler of the Mahiṣas, just at the time of the rise of the Guptas (See Pargiter : *Purāṇa Texts of Kali Dynasties*, p. 51.) This Śākyamāna (*Śākha-Śākha-Cāha-māna*) or a namesake of his might have been the ancestor who gave the name to this tribe. It is worthy of note that a Cāhamāna capital was named Śākambharī.

REVIEWS

Āryā-Śataka of Appayya Dikṣita, edited by Prof. N. A. Gore, with a Sanskrit Commentary by Dr. V. Raghavan. Poona 1944. Pages 56. Price Re. 1/4-.

The *Āryā Śataka*, as indicated by its title, is a collection of one hundred stanzas in Āryā metre,—in praise of Śiva. The text, which was originally published in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 3-4, is now issued in book form, along with a Sanskrit Commentary by Dr. Raghavan.

The work is a devotional poem in which the author fervently implores Lord Śiva to grant him His grace, to free him from worldly existence and from poverty, and to make his body free from disease, and mind full of devotion (sts. 88, 89). In the first 51 stanzas the poet tries to meet, by employing words with double meaning, the various objections supposed to have been raised by Śiva regarding the poet's fitness to receive His favour. The poet thereafter advises his mind and sense-organs to discard sensual pleasures and to turn to devotion towards the Lord. Throughout the poem, the devotee displays entire confidence in divine grace, blessings and mercy. The work is a delightful composition presenting a variety of ideas in a pleasant, flowing style.

The text is based on all available MSS, three in all, secured from Poona, Wai and Rajapur. The only MS recorded by Aufrecht is unfortunately missing. The Editor, Prof. Gore, has done his work with his usual thoroughness and precision, following the correct method of selecting readings. The variants have been given in footnotes. In st. 18, the reading आरचय has been rightly preferred to आचरय given in all MSS. It is inter-

See his *Imperial Gurjaras*.

esting to note with regard to the readings मा मा and मां मा that the MS. R has मा मा, (f. n. 1-2) in st. 24 and मां मा (f. n. 17) in st. 32, both of which have been relegated to foot-notes.

Despite Prof. Gore's ascription of the work to the celebrated Appayya Dīkṣita, "one is not sure" as said by Dr. Raja "if the poem is by the famous Appayya Dīkṣita." The poet appears to be suffering from paralysis (st. 73) and this might perhaps give a clue to his identification, should particulars about different Appayya Dīkṣitas be forthcoming. The Sanskrit Commentary by Dr. Raghavan is lucid, precise and to the point. There is an alphabetical index of the stanzas at the end.

The printing and get-up are quite good and the book is practically free from printing mistakes.

A. D. P.

Srī Venkateśvara Kāvya Kalāpa, Sri Venkateswara Oriental Series No. 1, pp. 340, ed. D. T. Tatacharya and published by Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, Rs. 4.

Srī Venkateśvara Kāvya Kalāpa, the first publication of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, is a useful addition to Sanskrit literature. It is an anthology of all important stotras in praise of the Lord of Tirumalai Hills. Divided into three parts, it contains in all 39 stotras. Although four stotras of the first part have already been published, their inclusion in the book has enhanced its merit and utility. To the devotees of Sri Venkateswara of Tirupati, this publication will be of immense help for prayer and worship.

Selections from Sadagopa Muni's Tamil *Prabandham* happily finds a place in the book, and the Sanskrit text of Sri Ranga Ramanujachariar, a well-known commentator of *Upaniṣads*, will be welcomed by those who do not know the Tamil language.

Ujwala Venkatanatha Stotram, the 16th in number, in the second part contains the well written commentary of Srīman T. A. P. Krishnamachariar, an ex-member of the staff of the Sanskrit College. It is praiseworthy that this retired teacher has well employed his leisure hours to further the cause of Sanskrit learning, and it is felt that in fairness to the commentator a complimentary reference could have been made by the Editor in his Preface.

The first stotram, in the second part is headed "Sri Venkateśa Mahiṣi Mahalakṣmī Caturvarṣi Stotram," while in the contents it is shown as "Lakṣmī caturvarṣi Stotram." The latter title would have been more appropriate as it is clear and easily intelligible. Everybody understands "Lakṣmī" as the consort of Viṣṇu, the presiding deity of Tirupati and the grandiloquent appellation "Venkateśa Mahiṣi" does not denote anything more than the "Consort of Venkateśa"—Lakṣmī.

Also the last sentence in the stotra has an asterisk denoting a different reading in two places. Since this stotram is included in the daily pāraṇam by many devotees of the Sri Venkateśa the sentences in the last portion are chanted as follows :

प्रसीदास्मान् कृपादृष्टिपातैरालोक्यान्विजे ।

ये दृष्टास्ते त्वया ब्रह्मरुन्ध्रं समाप्रयुः ॥

श्री शुक्र उवाच—इति स्तुता तदा देवैः विष्णुवक्षस्थालया ।

विष्णुना सह संदश्य रमा प्रीताऽवदत्सुरान् ॥

श्रीह्वाच—

सुदादीन् सहसा हत्वा स्वपदानि गमिष्यथ ।

ये स्थानहीनाः स्वस्थानात् भ्रंशिता ये नरा भुवि ।

ते मामनेन स्तोत्रेण स्तुत्वा स्थानमवाप्नुयुः ॥

The stotram begins with—देवा ऊचुः

It is the opinion of the reviewer that this reading seems more appropriate and complete in sequence than the one given in the book.

The arrangement of the different stotras is excellent. In line with the suggestion of the ex-Director to bring out an anthology of stotras of the past and the living writers, the editor has discharged his duties satisfactorily, although there are more living authors who would have added to the usefulness of the book. Also some important stotrams that are contained in Venkateśa Mahātmyam could have been included. The commentator of Srinivasa Gunakara, the 30th stotra in the second part, whose notes have been appended from the beginning, has not commented on the last seven ślokas of this stotram and the editor, basing on the explanatory notes of other commentators, has given a commentary which is not only of a high order but quite in tune with the commentary that has been given from the beginning. The suggested readings of the editor in many places are the best.

The general get-up of the book is good, the arrangement of the stotras, and their commentaries are done well. As usual, there are some printing mistakes which may be avoided in subsequent edition. The Institute deserves congratulation for bringing out as its first publication a book entirely consisting of stotras of the patron deity, and which is so well produced.

T. A. VENKATESWARA DIKSHITAR.

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

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Dr. A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

Prof. JAYANTAKRISHNA H. DAVE, M.A., LL.B.

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BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

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THE BHAVAN invites original essays on any aspect of Bharatiya Samskriti (Indian Culture) written in Samskrit, Hindi or English for the annual Essay Competitions which have been started in 1942. This year six gold medals (each of the value of Rs. 150) and six silver medals (each of the value of Rs. 25) are to be awarded. One gold medal and one silver medal will be awarded to the best and second best essays respectively received under each of the groups mentioned below. The branches of study given below in brackets are neither exhaustive divisions of the groups nor topics for essays in themselves, but are intended only to give a general idea of each group to a layman.

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- (3) Languages, Literature (Sanskrita, Prakrita, Apabhramsha, Modern Indian Vernaculars, Dravidian, etc.), Linguistics and Literary Criticism.
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3. The copyright of the gold medal essays will vest in the Bhavan subject to minor privileges to the authors.
4. The manuscript which should have temporary binding must bear the nom-de-plume of the contributor on the cover page and strict care should be taken to avoid disclosing the identity of the competitor. A sealed envelope bearing the non-de-plume of the competitor on the outside and containing a slip giving the name and full address as also the nom-de-plume should be sent along with each essay.
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NOTES AND NEWS

Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute.

At a meeting held at the Senate House, Madras on November 3, 1943, it was decided to commemorate the services rendered by the late MM. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri to the cause of Oriental Learning and Indian Culture by founding a Research Institute bearing his name in Madras, which would form a centre for the promotion of Indian Culture and Sanskrit Learning. The Institute was formed on March 19, 1944, and rules and regulations were framed. For realising the various objects of the Institute such as the owning of a permanent habitation, having a good library with a number of research workers etc., an Appeal was issued to the public for raising the minimum capital of Rs. one lakh.

The inauguration of the Institute was performed at the Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore, on 22nd April last by Mr. S. V. Ramamurti, Adviser to H. E. the Governor of Madras. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the President of the Institute, in his Welcome Speech referred to the work done so far by the Institute, and felt sure that all would agree with him that the beginning bore promise of a healthy and vigorous growth. He was sure that the President of the evening would remind the public of the objects of the Institute and that the Institute deserved the utmost assistance from every part of the country and from all sections in the form of books, periodicals and gifts of money in a ceaseless flow. The Secretary in his Report gave the genesis of the scheme and said that the response from the public to their appeal for funds had been spontaneous and satisfactory, and that the Institute has been fortunate in securing valuable books for its Library which now consists of nearly 2000 volumes. Arrangements have been made by the Institute for the publication of the two University Lectures delivered by the late Professor entitled "Highways and Byways of Alankāra" and "Compromises in the History of Vedānta."

Inaugurating the Institute, Mr. Ramamurti paid glowing tributes to the late Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri who had the vitality to add new life to the old Sanskrit learning and who brought to bear a critical and constructive attitude towards our inheritance. While stating that there was need for research in Indian Culture, the speaker stressed the need on the part of Indians to switch back to their own region in life and study its substance once more in the light of western methods. It was better, he continued, to be leaders in the Indian way of life than be camp followers. Mr. Ramamurti spoke with approval of Prof. Eddington's view that the experience of a mystic was as valid as that of a physicist and that the material gathered by a mystic must be studied with the help of Western Scientific methods. It was inevitable that there should be a reference to the present world crisis, and Mr. Ramamurti pointed out that though a beggar among nations,—beggars who are the masters of fate, India is the abode, nay the embodiment of Śiva, and that there is a three-fold aspect for the Indian quality of life—the vision of all as one, the faith in all as the One, and action flowing from self-forgetful energy. Referring further to the ideal of Indian Life according to the Bhagavad-gītā, the speaker said that India is self-forgetful but needs to be energetic. Mr. Ramamurti, in conclusion, hoped that the Research Institute may with care, with reverence and with love attend on the new birth of Kumāra in Sambhavam.

Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar pointed to the importance of cultural values and hoped that the Institution would develop into a great Institute, which would bring to their midst all that was worth knowing in Indian Culture, and the Institute would not only increase knowledge but also would spread that knowledge and carry that research to the remotest corners.

After paying a tribute to the late Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that there could be no nobler memorial to the late Professor's profound scholarship, critical acumen and great personality. Taking exception to Mr. Ramamurti's observations, Sir Radhakrishnan declared that rationalistic approach to all problems was a feature of Indians and hoped that the Institute would also adopt the rationalistic approach. He suggested a critical and scientific study of the two streams of thought—Upaniṣadic and Buddhist—and advised to take the salient truths from these classics and to reorient them so as to make them responsive to the needs of modern times. He urged the importance of dis-

covering the vital sparks that remained constant in our established traditions, and further advised to make them plain and discover the soul of our Dharma, Shri K. M. Munshi wished that the Institute would become the centre of Indian Culture in South India. He deprecated the modern tendency of Indologists to treat Indian research more like a post-mortem examination of a dead body, and hoped that the Institute would not adopt that method. Munshiji emphasized that Sanskrit to us was not a dead language and Sanskrit Literature was not something to study at leisure. They formed *the content of our sub-consciousness*. He advised the Institute to become a dynamic force in the life of the country and not a mere laboratory. In the modern materialistic world which is now witnessing a war with all its horrors, only the spiritual ideals of India, continued Munshiji, could save the world, adding that it was necessary that a Research Institute in Indology in India must be in a position to transmute ancient strength into modern affairs. He wished all success to the Institute and hoped that it would grow strong to be a great inspiration for the whole of India.

We heartily endorse the good wishes for the future of the Institute expressed by the speakers, and hope that by the generous response from the public and the solid work of research scholars on the lines suggested by the eminent speakers, the Institute will carve a name for itself.

A. D. P.

Dr. Beni Prasad.†

It is with feelings of profound regret that we record here the sad and sudden death of Dr. Beni Prasad, Head of the Department of Politics, Allahabad University, and a valued contributor to the History of India sponsored by the Bhāratiya Itihāsa Samiti, at the early age of 50, after a brief illness at Allahabad.

After a brilliant and distinguished career at school and college, where he was always a Government Scholarship holder, Dr. Beni Prasad joined the Allahabad University in 1918 as Assistant Professor of History in the History Department which was then being organised by Prof. Rushbrook Williams. From 1923 to 1926, he studied under Prof. Harold Laski at the London School of Economics where he got his Ph.D. in 1926 and D.Sc. in 1927. Prof. Laski had a very high opinion of him and had prophesied that one day Dr. Beni Prasad would become a famous personality of the world. In 1929-30 Dr. Beni Prasad became Professor of Politics and since then acted as the Head of the Department of Politics. *History of Jehangir* was his first publication, a remarkable study of the great Muslim ruler. *State in Ancient India* and *Theory of Government in Ancient India* (with a foreword by Dr. A. B. Keith) are valuable productions and have been prescribed as text-books for the M. A. Examination in Indian Universities. His *Democratic Process* brought him great recognition. He also wrote on *Hindu Muslim Communal Settlement*. The chapter Dr. Beni Prasad contributed to the History of India on the Political Theory and Administrative Organization was perhaps his last important work. He had submitted a memorandum to the Conciliation Committee convened by Sir T. B. Saprū. He took keen interest in Hindi Literature and wrote some works in Hindi. While a B.A. student he studied Sanskrit and passed the Madhyamā Examination of Benares standing first.

Dr. Beni Prasad was the founder of the Politics Department of the Allahabad University, of which he was the Head till the time of his death. He had made a masterly study of the Hindu-Muslim Problem in India, and recently he was busy writing on *Untouchability*, *Status of Women in Ancient India* and *Federation*. He was a good writer and a fluent speaker. He took great interest in social reforms, and was very generous, sociable, obliging and helpful. He approached problems with the detachment of a scholar. During the last two years Dr. Beni Prasad came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's personality. He was the founder of the Progressive Club of the Allahabad University and was elected President of the Secondary Educational Conference and Political Science Conference, and was the Editor of the "Journal of Political Science". Much was expected of Dr. Beni Prasad, and Indian Political Science is all the poorer by his premature death.

May his soul rest in peace !

A. D. P.

THE DYNASTY OF BHAGADATTA

By Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR.

It is a well-known fact that the ruling families in ancient and mediæval India often traced their descent from the Sun and the Moon or the heroes described in the Epics and Purāṇas. To judge from the epigraphic records, this tendency was absent in the very early period, and made its appearance only after the downfall of the Imperial Guptas, at least in Northern India. The Guptas themselves have no such pretension, but claims to this effect are found in the records of some dynasties that came into prominence on the ruins of their empire.¹ The Maukharis claimed descent from Aśvapati, the father of Sāvitrī, as early as the sixth century A.C.,² and during the same or next century we find at least three dynasties in different parts of India tracing their pedigree to the epic hero Bhagadatta.

The most comprehensive reference to this family occurs in the Nidhanpur copper-plate of Bhāskara-varman,³ the king of Kāmarūpa and a contemporary of Harṣa-vardhana. It refers to Naraka as the son of Viṣṇu (conceived by the earth whom he lifted from the sea in the form of a Boar). Naraka's son was Bhagadatta, the friend of Indra, who fought with Arjuna. Bhagadatta's son was Vajradatta. After the kings of this family ruled for three thousand years Puṣya-varman became the ruler of the world. Then follows a regular succession of kings up to Bhāskara-varman.

The story of the demon Naraka is given in detail in the *Kālikā-Purāṇa* (Chs. 36-40), and Bhagadatta's achievements are prominently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Bhagadatta fought with Arjuna when the latter went out for the *digvijaya* described in the *Sabhā-parva*. He joined Duryodhana in the great war against the Pāṇḍavas and died in the battle-field. His son Vajradatta fought valiantly with Arjuna when the latter led the sacrificial horse, as described in the *Aśvamedha-parva*.

It is evident that the kings of Kāmarūpa, in the seventh century A.C. if not earlier still, wove these traditions into their family history. The family, although tracing their descent from Naraka, is also referred to in later records as the "Bhagadatta-varṇṣa"⁴ or the family of Bhagadatta, after the name of the distinguished son of the founder.

Until recently the scholars regarded this royal family of Kāmarūpa as the only dynasty of Bhagadatta. In an inscription⁵ of Jayadeva II, a ruler of Nepal in the eighth century A.C., his queen Rājyamati of the Bhagadatta dynasty is said to be the daughter of king Harṣa, the lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra and other countries, and also of Kalinga and Kośala. It is generally held that as 'Rājyamati' is spoken of as a noble descendant of Bhagadatta's royal line she must have been a princess of the Kāmarūpa dynasty.⁶

As we do not know of any king of Kāmarūpa named Harṣa who may be credited with such brilliant conquests, it has been suggested that Rājyamati might belong to the Kara dynasty of Orissa. The kings of this family call themselves Bhaumānvaṇḍa i.e. descended from the family of the Earth, and this undoubtedly refers to the demon Naraka who was born of the Earth as a result of the union with Viṣṇu in the form of a Boar. One of the kings of this dynasty is also said to be a final incarnation of Bharata, Bhagadatta and Bhagiratha.⁷ The first and the third are famous names, and the introduction of the second is probably due to the lineage of the family. In any case the Bhauma family of Orissa may be reasonably presumed to have traced their origin from the same epic and Puranic heroes as the royal family of Kāmarūpa.

¹ Some earlier dynasties like the Pallavas do not advance such claims before the sixth or seventh century A.C.

² Haraha Stone Ins. *EI*, XIV, 110.

³ *EI*, XII, 65.

⁴ Gauhati Ins. of Indrapāla, *JASB*, 1897, Part I, p. 113.

⁵ *I.A.*, IX, 178.

⁶ Dr. R. G. Basak—*History of North-Eastern India*, p. 271.

⁷ B. Misra—*Orissa under the Bhauma kings*: also cf. *IHQ*, XIV, 841.

Recently another royal family descended from Bhagadatta has come to light. An inscription at Hatun in the Punjab tract up the Gilgit river, in the north-western corner of India refers to '*Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Patola-deva*'. Sāhi descended from Bhagadatta (*Bhagadatta-vamśa-sambhūta*). This Sāhi ruler of Gilgit has been taken as belonging to the line of Kushan kings founded by Kaniška, who are said by Alberuni to have ruled the Kabul region up to 9th century A.C. or even later. Whatever we may think of this, the Sāhi ruler Patoladeva, who, to judge from the characters of his inscription, flourished about the sixth century A.C. traced his descent from Bhagadatta, evidently the epic hero of that name, son of Naraka.

Whether the three almost contemporary ruling families of Gilgit, Assam and Orissa, who traced their descent to the same mythical heroes, had really any connection with each other, it is difficult to say. But there is one interesting point which may be noted in this connection. The epics and the early Purāṇas refer to Naraka, Bhagadatta etc. as kings of Prāgyjyotiṣa and not of Kāmarūpa. Although these two geographical names came to refer to the same territory in later times, there are grounds to believe that Prāgyjyotiṣa was the name of a different kingdom in the epic age. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Sugriva asked the search-party going to the west, to look for Sītā in Prāgyjyotiṣa. In the *Mahābhārata* Arjuna reached Prāgyjyotiṣa in course of his northern expedition, but the kingdom is not mentioned in connection with the eastern expedition of Bhīma even though he reached the Lauhitya river. Kālidāsa, too, follows this current tradition in his description of Raghu's conquest, although he seems to identify Prāgyjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa. There is definite reference to a Prāgyjyotiṣa in the north in *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (IV. 171). It may be presumed, therefore, that there was a Prāgyjyotiṣa in the north-western part of India different from Kāmarūpa which was to the east of the starting point in all these cases. If we assume the existence of such a northern Prāgyjyotiṣa we may easily connect it with the Bhagadatta dynasty of Gilgit. In other words, the name of the dynasty as well as of the kingdom were shifted later to Kāmarūpa. Such shifting of tribal and geographical names was not unknown in ancient India and is readily explained by tribal migrations. The Kosalas, Ikṣvākus and Pāṇḍus of the southern region are taken to be cases of such tribal migrations. If the peoples or ruling family in Gilgit who traced descent from Bhagadatta moved along the Himālayas and settled in the eastern region of Assam, it is not unlikely that they would carry their family tradition as well as the name of the locality to their new homes. These are, of course, mere speculations, but in the present state of our knowledge such speculations are not without use as they sometimes enable us to co-ordinate seemingly isolated phenomena into an ordered system.

Another point worth noting is the filiation of the family to Naraka, an *asura* or demon of impure birth, who had to be chastised by Viṣṇu on account of his hatred of Brāhmaṇas and enmity to Indra and other gods. Usually the royal families seek affiliation with heroes renowned for their good birth and noble acts, and a deliberate choice of a demon like Naraka must be regarded as unusual. It naturally leads to the suspicion that the family was originally beyond the pale of Aryan orthodoxy. This is corroborated in a way by the fact that one of the ruling families, descended from Bhagadatta, called itself *Śāhi*, obviously a foreign designation. It may also be noted that Bhagadatta is said to have been accompanied by Chinese and Kirāta soldiers.

The exaggerated account of the valour and heroism of Naraka and Bhagadatta in the *Purāṇas* and *Mahābhārata* also deserves notice. This may be either the cause or the consequence of the affiliation of a powerful royal family to their dynasty. For it is equally possible that the extraordinary valour of the heroes tempted the affiliation or that the poets were induced to sing their glories in exaggerated terms because they were reputed to be the ancestors of their patron kings.

No definite answer can be given to these questions. But though no solutions are immediately forthcoming these are interesting problems which may well be kept in view.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY CHERAS

By Sri K. G. SANKAR.

The earliest mention of the Cheras occurs in the rock-edicts of Aśoka (c. 265 B.C.) where Keralaputra (Cheramān) and Satiyaputra (Atiyamān) are included among his independent neighbours in South India. But the Cheras of the Sangam works are the earliest Cheras of whose names and deeds we get some details. Scholars, however, disagree widely as to their genealogy and chronology, though their sources of information are the same. The object of this paper is to ascertain whether it is not possible to evolve a reasonably consistent scheme of chronology which fits in with all available data.

The sources of early Chera history are the anthologies known as Sangam works and the earliest Tamil epic *Ṣilappadikāram*. Among Sangam works, the *Paṭiṟruppattu* is a collection of ten decads, each of which is in praise of a Chera prince by his court-poet, with a colophon in verse by the compiler, if not by the poet himself. It yields, besides their names and ancestry, valuable data as to the lands conquered and battles fought by the early Cheras. Stray references to early Cheras are found in *Puṇānūru*, *Ahaṇānūru*, *Narṟinai* and *Kuṟuntchai*. These references can however be understood only in the light of the colophons to the lyrics, stating their authorship and the occasions on which they were sung; and as they usually accord with the internal evidence of the lyrics, it may be presumed that they record genuine tradition of the times when the anthologies were compiled. Chera Perum Kaḍunko is credited with the authorship of a part (pālai) of *Kalittōhai*; and Chera Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai is said to have inspired Poyhaiyār to compose *Kaḷavaḷi*. The *Ṣilappadikāram* also describes the exploits of Chera Ṣenkuṭṭuvan, though its romantic treatment of the Kaṇṇaki legend provokes scepticism.

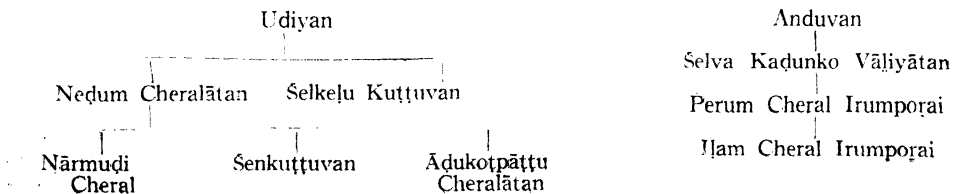
Scanty as these materials are, they still enable us to reconstruct early Chera history.

The *Paṭiṟruppattu* consists of 10 decads, each devoted to a separate Chera, arranged evidently in order of succession. The first and last decads are missing. The Cheras mentioned in the others are:—

1. Iṃayavaramban Neḍum Cheralātan, son of Udiyan Cheral, reigned 58 years;
2. Iṃayavaramban's younger brother Paḷyānai Ṣelkeḷu Kuṭṭuvan reigned 25 years;
3. Kaḷankāyṅkaṇṇi Nārmuḍi Cheral, son of Cheralātan and Veḷāvikkomān Paḍuman Devi, reigned for 25 years;
4. Ṣenkuṭṭuvan, son of Neḍum Cheralātan and Chola Maṇakkilḷi, reigned 55 years.
5. Aḍukotpaṭṭu Cheralātan, son of Neḍum Cheralātan and Veḷāvikkomān Devi, reigned 38 years;
6. Ṣelvakkaḍunko Vāliyātan, son of Anduvan, reigned 25 years;
7. Perum Cheral Irumporai, son of Ṣelvakkaḍunko and Veḷāvikkomān Paḍuman Devi, reigned 17 years;
8. Iḷam Cheral Irumporai, son of Kuṭṭuvan Irumporai, reigned 16 years.

It is obvious that these Cheras fall into two groups. Cheras 1 to 5 comprise the first group and belong to the same family. Chera 2 was the brother of Chera 1, while Cheras 3 to 5 were his sons. Cheras 6 to 8 comprise the second group, and Cheras 7 and 8 were the son and grandson of Chera 6. The link between the two groups is the fact that the mother of Chera 7 was obviously the sister of the mother of Cheras 3 and 5.

The genealogy of the *Paṭiṟruppattu* Cheras may thus be constructed:—



The two groups are seen to extend over four generations, and seem to have ruled over different parts of the Chera country. It may be presumed that the main line (Udiyan's) ruled from Vanchi, the ancient Chera capital, while the Irumporais were ruling at Toṇḍi or Karuvūr, as the *Silappadikāram* makes Senkuṭṭuvan rule from Vanchi. It should be noted that Vanchi on the Porunai (*Puṇam* 11 : 381) is usually confounded with Karuvūr on the Ānporunai (*Aham* 93) and Muṣiri on the Periyār (*Aham* 149). But Vanchi was the Chera capital, while Karuvūr was captured from Kongar by Perum Cheral Irumporai.

We hear of ten other Cheras in the *Puṇanānūru*, *Kalittōhai* and *Ainkuṇūru*. They are :

(1) Perum Cheralātan ; (2) Kuṭṭuvan Kodai ; (3) Koṭṭambalattu-tunjiya Mākkodai ; (4) Kodaimārpan ; (5) Māvenko ; (6) Pālai-pāḍiya Perum Kaḍunko ; (7) Vanchan ; (8) Ātan Avini ; (9) Yānaikkaṭṭēy Māndaran Cheral Irumporai ; (10) Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai.

1. Perum Cheralātan is said to have died by starvation, after his defeat at Veṇṇi by Karikāla Chōla (*Puṇam* 65 ; 66 ; *Aham* 55). Since Karikāla's son Perumkilḷi was reinstated by Senkuṭṭuvan (*Silap.* 27. 118 ; 28. 115-119), and since Śelkelu Kuṭṭuvan did not give up his life on the battle-field, but abdicated and became an ascetic, Perum Cheralātan may tentatively be identified with Senkuṭṭuvan's father Neḍum Cheralātan.

2. Kuṭṭuvan Kodai may be identified with (3) Mākkodai, who died at Koṭṭambalam ; and he was probably identical with Senkuṭṭuvan Cheral (*Paṭiṇṇupattu* v. Padikam), because Māḍalan, who praises him (*Puṇam* 51), also sings of Karikāla's successor Nalam Kilḷi (*Puṇam* 61). He was also probably the Iḷam Kuṭṭuvan of *Aham* 153. The epithet Iḷam (Younger) was perhaps to distinguish him from Senkuṭṭuvan.

4. Kodaimārpan was an epithet of Perum Cheral Irumporai (*Paṭiṇṇu* 79), the hero of Tahaḍūr (*ibid.* viii Padikam) and Karuvūr (*Puṇam* 5).

5. Māvenko was a friend of Ugrapperuvalūdi and Rājasūyamvetṭa Perunai Kilḷi (*Puṇam* 367) ; and he was probably the successor of Kuṭṭuvan Kodai.

6. Perum Kaḍunko was probably identical with Śelva Kaḍunko Vāliyātan, though he was called ruler of Vanchi (*Puṇam* 11). His grandson Iḷam Cheral Irumporai is likewise mentioned as King of Toṇḍi and Vanchi (*Paṭiṇṇu* 88 ; ix. Padikam).

7. Vanchan was probably the last King of Vanchi (*Puṇam* 398), which was captured by Kilḷi Vāḷavan (*Puṇam* 36 ; 37 ; 39 ; 373).

8. Ātan is mentioned in *Ainkuṇūru* (1-10) and was a predecessor of Māndaran Cheral, who got that anthology compiled.

9. Māndaran Cheral Irumporai was probably a successor of Iḷam Cheral, and he was defeated by Neḍum Cheḷiyan, hero of Talai-āḷankānam (*Puṇam* 17) and Rājasūyam-vetṭa Perunaṇkilḷi (*Puṇam* 125).

10. Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai was the last of the Irumporai branch. He was defeated at Por and taken captive by Senkaṇṇan (*Puṇam* 74). Poyhaiyār praised the victor in *Kaḷavaḷi* to obtain the Chera's release : but, piqued at the delay in supplying water to drink, the proud Chera gave up his life.

Mr. Sivarāja Piḷḷai (*Chronology of the early Tamils*) and Mr. Sesha Iyer (*Chera Kings of the Sangam period*) have proposed early Chera genealogies, which differ considerably from that suggested here. Both agree in making Kuruvūr-eriya Perum Cheral Irumporai the father of Anduvan, instead of identifying him with Perum Cheral Irumporai (Anduvan's grandson) of *Paṭiṇṇutpattu*. This is due to their confounding Karuvūr with Vanchi. Mr. Sivarāja Piḷḷai, in addition, makes Karuvūr-eriya Perum Cheral the father also of Udiyan of the main line. He adduces no other evidence than that all Cheras of Karuvūr-Vanchi must have succeeded the Chera, who first took it and made it his capital. With regard to Senkuṭṭuvan's successors, he combines the two groups and places them all after Iḷam Cheral. Mr. Sesha Aiyar, against the evidence of *Paṭiṇṇutpattu* (iv to vi Padikams), makes Senkuṭṭuvan the son of Nārmudi Cheral, and Aḍukotpāṭṭu Cheralātan a son of Anduvan, whom he identifies with Perum Cheralātan.

The chronology of the Cheras may now be considered. The regnal years given at the end of each *Padikam* of the *Paṭiṇṇupattu* record the tradition current at the time these decads were compiled. The figures for Anduvan's line are reasonable, and Śelva Kaḍunko,

Perum Cheral and Ilam Cheral may be admitted to have ruled for 25, 17 and 16 years respectively. The figures given to Udiyan's line are, however, hard to swallow. If Cheras 1 to 5 of *Patirruppattu* ruled in strict succession, we get for only two generations a total of $58+25+25+55+38=201$ years. Again, Ādukoṭpāṭṭu Cheralātan must have come to the throne $25+25+55=105$ years after his father's death, and thereafter ruled for 38 years, which is impossible. Nārmuḍi and Ādukoṭpāṭṭu Cheralātan on the one hand, and Senkuṭṭuvan on the other, must therefore have ruled side by side over different parts of the Chera country.

Now we need a fixed point from which to calculate forward and backward, and this is found in Senkuṭṭuvan's northern expedition. The *Silappadikāram* claims to be based on facts, part of which were witnessed by Śāttanār (Padikam 41-53) and the rest were within the personal knowledge of his friend Ilanko, the author of this epic and the brother of Senkuṭṭuvan. The themes of the epic are Kovalan's unjust execution, his wife Kaṇṇaki's wrath and burning of Madura, and her deification. On hearing these facts, Senkuṭṭuvan led an expedition to North India, defeated Rudra and others with the aid of Nūrruvar Kannar of Mālva (*Silap* 26. 163), brought marble from the Himālayas for Kaṇṇaki's image, and instituted her worship as Pattini, in the presence of Ilanko and Gajabāhu of Lankā (*Silap*. 30. 160, 171). *Nārrimai* refers to Pattini, who cut off her breast. The *Patirruppattu* (Padikam) mentions Senkuṭṭuvan's fighting Āryan princes in quest of marble for the Pattini image. The Ceylon *Rājāvali* says Gajabāhu took Pattini's anklets to Ceylon, and countless Ceylon legends associate Gajabāhu with Pattini worship. The synchronism, therefore, of Senkuṭṭuvan with Gajabāhu may be accepted as historical. The epithet Nūrruvar Kannar (100 Karṇas) seems to be a Tamil rendering of Śatakarṇi known to have been ruler of Mālva (Ākarāvanti). Rudra, therefore, who was defeated by Senkuṭṭuvan, may be identified with Rudradāman. Several tracts, including Mālwa, were conquered by both Rudradāman and Gautamīputra and Rudradāman claims to have defeated Śatakarṇi twice before year 72 (150 A.C.). Scholars are agreed that Gautamīputra conquered Mālva from Nahapāna after year 46 (124 A.C.), and that Rudradāman recovered it before 150 A.C. But as Ptolemy mentions Chashtana (Rudra's grandfather) as king of Ujjain, and as Yajña Śrī, a successor of Gautamīputra, is found in possession of countries, including Nāsik region, conquered by Rudradāman, we have to assume a second Āndhra conquest. It is simpler to presume that Rudradāman succeeded Nahapāna and Chashtana in Mālva, but lost it to Gautamīputra after 150 A.C. As Śatakarṇi was king of Mālva, when Senkuṭṭuvan invaded North India, his expedition must be dated after 150 A.C., when Mālva was still under Rudradāman.

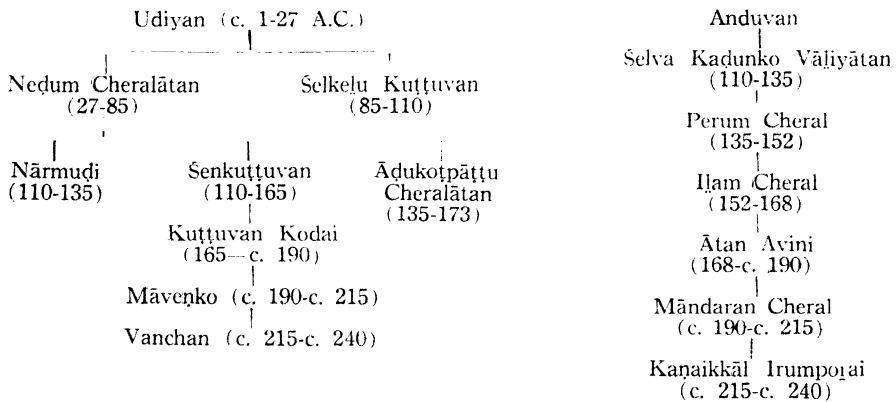
We may now consider the date of Gajabāhu. The *Mahāvamsa* gives a complete list of the Kings of Ceylon from c. 500 B.C. to c. 1300 A.C., with their regnal years. The minimum interval, among variant readings, between Devānāmpiya Tissa and Mahānāma is 686 years. Now Tissa's announcement cannot be placed before 259 B.C., as it took place $236-218=18$ years after Aśoka's anointment, which could not be less than 24 (Chandragupta) + 25 (Bindusāra) = 49 years after Chandragupta's accession (in 326 B.C. at the earliest). i.e., earlier than $326-49=277$ B.C. At the other end, an embassy from Mahānāma arrived in China in 428 A.C. (*Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 412, 421); and therefore Mahānāma must have begun to rule not later than 428 A.C. The maximum interval between Tissa and Mahānāma is thus $258+428=686$ years, which is exactly the minimum interval already arrived at. We may thus place Mahānāma's accession exactly in 428 A.C., and the minimum figures must be adopted in every case. The minimum interval between Gajabāhu and Mahānāma is 279 years. The accession of Gajabāhu must be therefore dated in $428-279=149$ A.C., and he ruled for 12 years, from 149 to 161 A.C.

The interval between the burning of Madura and Senkuṭṭuvan's northern expedition is stated in *Silppadikāram* to have been 32 months, and the institution of Kaṇṇaki worship may be dated a year later. Gajabāhu must therefore have visited Vanchi 4 years after the burning of Madura, which may thus be dated between 145 and 157 A.C.

Regarding the burning of Madura, the *Silappadikāram* (23. 133-137) records the fulfilment of a prophecy that Madura would be burnt and its king destroyed on a Krishna Ashtami Friday in Āḍi, a day of fiery Kṛittikā, between sunset and midnight. The prophecy might be *ex post facto*, but the event was historical, and the astronomical data are genuine. The

conjunction of Kṛishṇa Aṣṭamī (264° to 276°) with Kṛittikā (27° to 40°) in Āḍi (90° to 120°) would be possible only with the sun in 111° to 120°. In the second century A.C., the given data are satisfied only in 100, 103, 157 and 174 A.C. Of these, only 157 A.C. falls within the limits 145 and 157 A.C. already arrived at from the Gaḃabāhu synchronism. On Friday, 16th July 157 A.C., Kṛishṇa Aṣṭamī began at 1-30 P.M., while Kṛittikā began at 10-20 P.M., so that there were Aṣṭamī and Kṛittikā between 10-20 P.M. and midnight. If Mādura was burnt in 157 A.C., Śenkuṭṭuvan's northern expedition must be dated in 160 A.C. and this is consistent with Gautamiṇḃa's conquest of Mālva after 150 A.C. Mr. Śeṣha Aiyar suggested 13th July, 171 A.C. But on that day Aṣṭamī ended at 3 p.m., so that the tithi after sunset would be Navamī; and if Mādura was burnt in 171 A.C., the institution of Kāṇṇaki worship should be dated in 175 A.C., when Gaḃabāhu was not alive. We may therefore accept for the burning of Mādura 16th July 157 A.C., as suggested by me 28 years ago (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, Oct. 1917).

The *Silappadikāram* (28. 129-132) informs us that Śenkuṭṭuvan had ruled for 50 years at the time (160 A.C.) of his northern expedition. His reign must therefore have begun in 110 A.C., and he ruled for 55 years (i.e.) till 165 A.C. Before him, Śelkeḷu Kuṭṭuvan ruled for 25 years (85-110 A.C.), Neḍum Cheralātan for 58 years (27-85 A.C.) and Udiyan from c. 1 A.C. to 27 A.C. Nārmuḍi reigned for 25 years (110-135 A.C.) and was succeeded by Āḍukotpāṭṭu Cheralātan who ruled for 38 years (135-173 A.C.). Perhaps at Karuvūr (*Puṇam* 13), Selva Kaḍunko Vāliyātan ruled for 25 years (110-135 A.D.). Perum Cheral Irumporai for 17 years (135-152 A.C.) and Iḷam Cheral for 16 years (152-168 A.C.). For other Cheras no figures are given, and we may assign them the usual average of 25 years each. These results may be tabulated thus :-



This chronology may be tested to see how it agrees with ascertained facts. Pliny (d. 79 A.C.) and Ptolemy (c. 180 A.C.) note that the coast near Muširi was infested by pirates; and Pliny notes further the drain of Roman gold for Indian paper. The *Periplus* (70 A.C.) refers to Muširi as famous for its export of pepper. Now in our chronology the then Creras were Neḍum Cheralātan (27-85) and Senkuṭṭuvan (110-165). Both are said to have routed the pirates, in spite of their island refuge (*Paṭiṟu* 17; II & V Padikams), and Neḍum Cheralātan is also said to have been Yavanas (Greeks) as captives. The export of pepper from Muširi in Yavana ships in exchange for gold is referred to in *Aham* 149. The evidence of Greek geographers thus confirms our early Chera chronology.

Again, I have proved from astronomical data of the 11th *Paripāḍal* that it must be dated 28th June 196 A.C. (Kāṇe Volume, pp. 380-387). Its author Nallanduvanār is said to have compiled *Kalittotai* by request of Ugrapperuvalūdi, friend of Māvenko, who thus dates c. 200 A.C. Neḍuncheliyan, who defeated Māndaran was the immediate predecessor of Ugrapperuvalūdi, and therefore the dates c. 190-c. 215 A.C. for Māvenko and Māndaran are consistent with the proved date (196 A.C.) of Nallanduvanār.

The chronology of early Cheras proposed in this paper is thus seen to be in harmony with all available data and ascertained facts.

A NEW SHEET ANCHOR OF HISTORY

By Dr. D. S. TRIVEDA

The most formidable obstacle in the reconstruction of ancient history, whether of India or of any part of the world has been chronological as chronology is supposed to be the backbone of history. The dated history of no European country, with the possible exception of Greece and Rome, can be traced with absolute certainty to a period earlier than the 8th century A.C.

In the field of Indology, the chronology of the Vedic age, although the *R̥gveda* is supposed to be the oldest extant literature of the world by all competent authorities, is absolutely unsettled. The various theories put forward are so conflicting and as a matter of fact have so little basis that no reliance can be placed on them. Modern historians of India take their stand on the date of Alexander's invasion and the consequent identification of Sandracottus of the Greek writers with Candragupta Maurya of the *Mudrārākṣasa*—an identification suggested by Sir William Jones on 28th December 1793, while delivering the tenth anniversary discourse of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, when he said : "I cannot help mentioning a discovery which accident threw on my way...found that Hiraṇyabāhu (Eranbos) was another name for the Soṇa. This discovery led to another of great moment for Candragupta was no other than that very Sandracottus who concluded a treaty with Seleucus Nicator."

Col. Wilford,² H. H. Wilson,³ and Prof. Max Müller⁴ lent their support to this identification and it fell to the lot of V. A. Smith to take this so-called synchronism as the basis to calculate backward and forward and thus to attain the grand title 'the father of ancient Indian History'. But it cannot be said that the above synchronism stands on indubitable grounds as serious objections to it have been taken by M. A. Troyer,^{4a} T. S. Narayan Śāstri^{4b} and myself^{4c} and they are yet to be answered by the advocates of the above synchronism on which a huge bundle of records has been piled up in course of the last 150 years.

It is rather unfortunate that a foreign date should be pitchforked into Indian chronology by establishing a wrong synchronism and thus the entire traditional history and chronology should be given a strange garb, although it is admitted that the Indians had already a detailed connected chronological system of their own long before the dawn of any civilised nation could boast of it. At the same time there is not the slightest reference or allusion to Alexander's invasion in any Indian literature with the possible exception of the *Ain-i-Akbari*.⁵ Moreover, the Greek history itself has no independent trustworthy record of its chronology for its credence to go unquestioned so that it may be regarded a sheet anchor of Indian history and a pattern for the history of all other countries.

Authenticity of Greek Chronology : With regard to the value of Greek inscriptions, it has been proclaimed⁶ with authority that 'Greek inscriptions are of little value for Greek history'. What Strabo (63 B.C.-24 A.C.) says of the first historians of Attica that they differed widely from each other may be applied to all profane histories of those early times ; and with few exceptions the 'Greek writers may be pronounced extremely careless in matters of chronology'.⁷ Plutarch says : 'Numbers continue to this day endeavouring to correct the chronological canons and yet bring them to no consistency. The accurate histories of Thucydides (? 471-? 400 B.C.) and Xenophon (c. 435-355 B.C.) comprehend no more than a period of 70 years. It was Timaeus, who flourished in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (369-285 B.C.),

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, IV. p. xxvii ; p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, V. 284.

³ *Hindu Theatre*, III. 3.

⁴ *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, by F. Max Müller, (Panini Press), pp. 134-54.

^{4a} *Rājataranginī Historic des Rois Du Kachmir*, Par M. A. Troyer, Paris, 1840, Vol. II, pp. 410 et. seq.

^{4b} *Age of Saṃkara*, by T. S. Narayan Śāstri, Madras, 1916, Appendix II.

^{4c} 'The Sheet Anchor of Indian History', by D. S. Trivedi, Silver Jubilee Number of the *Annals of B. O. R. Institute*, Poona, Vol. XXIII, pp. 582-91.

⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, edited by H. S. Jarrett, Vol. III, pp. 23-4.

⁶ *New Chapters in Greek History*, by P. Gardner, London, 1892, p. 12.

⁷ John Gilles' *History of Ancient Greece*, London, 1820, Vol. I, p. 3.

who first arranged his narrative in the order of Olympiads—the national game celebrated at Olympia, on the bank of the Alpheus, in the territory of Elis, south of ancient Greece. The origin of the festival is lost in obscurity, but it is said to have been revived by Iphitus, king of Elis and Lyncurgus, the Spartan legislator in the year 776 B.C.⁸ The Greeks at a later date began to use the Olympic contest as a chronological era. But in course of time, the Greeks lost its memory. Theodosius, surnamed the Great, abolished the Olympian games which had endured for a millennium⁹ and it was revived in 1876 A.C.

Even as regards genealogies, the Greek poets and historians did not pay much attention to it for we find that it was not long before Homer (9th century B.C.) that the Greeks began to be attentive to genealogy, for Homer shows his inability to trace the pedigree of any of his heroes except the royal house of Troy beyond the fourth generation upward. Even from Herodotus¹⁰ (484 ?-425), who is at once supposed to be the father and prince of history and who is supposed to give grace to detail, we gain little light concerning the chronology of ancient times farther by some genealogies and even these are not undisputed. As regards the more exact Thucydides (471-400 B.C.) who commonly reckons backward from the year in which the Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta was concluded (404 B.C.), we are informed by Plutarch (46-120 A.C.) that the catalogue had no reputation for accuracy nor do we learn that it was at all trusted by historians.

The hopelessness and inconsistency of early Greek chronology can be proved by a single instance that no Greek historians are unanimous about the date of the Trojan war which has been variously dated¹¹ in 1042 (Panathenaic Oration of 342 B.C.); 1056 (Oration on Peace in 356 B.C.); 1066 (Archidamus in 366 B.C.); 1070 (Clemens); 1090 (Ephorus); 1120; 1136; 1145; 1146; 1150 (Democritus); 1170; 1209 (Persian Marble); 1270 (Herodotus) and B.C. 1335 (Duris of Sames). Rev. Cannop Thirlwell traces the history from B.C. 1384 onwards.¹²

Greek history has undergone a great many changes and hence no absolute reliance can be placed on it, especially when it is not substantiated by any other foreign source. We know that Alexander the Great destroyed the histories and Parmenon was instructed to do so on pain of death and though unwilling he obeyed. Moreover, he shifted the colures. Julius Cæsar (100-44 B.C.) altered the Olympiads from 5 to 4 years. Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, the Omnicient, the First Roman Emperor (63-14 B.C.) deducted 78 years from the epoch of the foundation of Rome. So it would appear that it is a great injustice to the progress of scientific history in general and to the cause of ancient Indian history in particular to mutilate it on the basis of a wrong synchronism of a country like Greece where no particular attention was paid to any specialisation of genealogies and chronology as in India at present as well as in the past.

Kaliyuga Era: So in the midst of the conflicting statement of recognised authorities there is one date and the only one which can lead the historians of the world to reorientate the scientific history on a basis which would appear to be the epoch of reckoning in all ages and countries, although Dr. J. F. Fleet opines¹³ "The Kaliyuga era is not of historical origin. It is nothing but an artificial reckoning devised by the Hindu astronomers some 35 centuries after the initial point which they assigned to it, that is roughly, at some time about 350-400 A.D."

No purpose would be served by throwing back the epoch of the era by so many centuries simply to satisfy the numerical whim of a nation unless some purpose could be served thereby. No era is dated from the first year. It is only in course of time that it wins the heart of the populace and so it becomes a landmark. Even the Christian Era (really the Augustus Era) was first computed by Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, but it was not used in

⁸ G. E. Merindin's *History of Greece*, London, 1897, p. 15.

⁹ H. K. Sherwani's *Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, Lahore, 1942, p. 32 ; Finlay i, 3, 11.

¹⁰ William Mitford's *History of Greece*, London, 1835, Vol. I, p. 198.

¹¹ *India in Greece*, by E. Peacocke, London, 1852, p. 30.

¹² Rev. Cannop Thirlwell's *Greece Cabinet Encyclopedia*, London, 1835.

¹³ *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, 320 ; *Journal of Indian History*, XVI, 242.

any public document until the ninth century. As a matter of fact it was really the Augustus Cæsar whose era, according to the Ain, begins with his accession in 28 B.C. (1623-1595), and not the Christian computation that was in vogue up to the seventeenth century as Rev. Du Halde's *History of China* would also prove as discussed later on.

It has been shown^{13a} that the date of the Mahābhārata War and the epoch of the Kali Era are almost contemporaneous and they are traditionally unparalleled and unimpeachable in the history of the world. These dates are corroborated by internal as well as external sources. The Puranic chroniclers took the date of the Mahābhārata War as the starting point of all their calculations backward and forward and they gave the precise regnal years and genealogies of the post-Mahābhārata kings whereas of the Pre-Mahābhārata kings only the names—and even there we have a surprising evidence of true genealogy if we collate all the Puranic texts, although it is admitted that the names of only the important kings are given and even there only the most important ones are described.¹⁴

The Kaliyuga era is referred to under various names in different countries : the Yudhiṣṭhira Era, the Year of Heaven, Perfect Year, Iron Age, Conjunction of the Moon and Five Planets, Conjunction of the Five Planets, the Fourth Age, Year of Kṛṣṇa, Year of Manu etc. And thus the Kaliyuga Era is the starting point of all and every one of the eras known to the Chaldeans, Greek or Roman world.

3101 B.C. is the time when the Sun, Moon, and the Four planets conjoined in a single mansion. It is an astronomical event whose actual occurrence has been verified by observation and calculation. Sylvain Bailly, the distinguished astronomer, and the Mayor of Paris during the French Revolution, after an attentive study of the four great tables of astronomy determined that the Kaliyuga Era was derived from actual observations made at Laṅkā. Although the same conjunction may take place so many times and it is for this reason that the scholars do not place much reliance on astronomical calculations of dates, yet it does not matter. The essential point to be considered is not the period of composition of the present astronomical tables but how early was the Conjunction or the Kaliyuga believed to be an actual one, and when, where and by whom was it mentioned or employed. La Placa tried to discredit Bailly's date by removing the astronomical conjunction to the XLIV century B.C., but as he was not aware of the Roman calendrical alterations, his removal of the Kaliyuga Era would seem to be defective. Mr. Velandi Gopal Aiyar places the Conjunction in B.C. 1165. He also shows that at sometime or other, its periods were reckoned by millenniums, when the practice in alluding to it was to omit the large figures for the sake of brevity just as we write '44 instead of 1944. In that case his B.C. 1165 might mean B.C. 2165 and B.C. 3165 also. So the net difference between the eastern and western chronologies is 64 (3165-3101) years, which is due to the alteration of the Roman calendar as during the dark age of the Roman Church 14 years were restored by substituting a Christian epoch for that of Augustus (78-14 B.C.). So this is definitely in favour of B.C. 3101 as the epoch of the Kali era.

Corroboration from Chinese History : The Chinese assign the Conjunction of the Four Planets to the second year and of the Five Planets to the tenth year of Tchuen Hio, the fifth emperor of the First Dynasty. His reign began, according to Father Du Halde, in 3127 B.C. Therefore, the Conjunction of the Five Planets (in the mansion of Che¹⁵ (eclipse) fell in 3117 B.C. (3127-10). If 15 years are deducted which were added by Pope Gregory XIII in March 1582 to the Roman Calendar, it would bring the vulgar epoch to B.C. 3101-2 B.C. (3117-15).

Rev. Du Halde's *Annals of the Chinese Monarchy* were gathered by his brother Jesuits early in XVII century from ancient Chinese records and hence it may be reasonably concluded that the sources of his information were very authentic and of a very high literary antiquity.

Greek History :—The ecclesiastical way of reckoning was more commonly by the Great Year, a complex of lunations, either ecliptical (223 lunations) or metonic (235 lunations)

^{13a} *Five Thousand Years Ago—The Mahabharata War*, by D. S. Trivedi, P. V. Kane Volume, pp. 515-25.

¹⁴ *Proceedings Indian History Congress*, 1939, Calcutta, 'Can we Re-construct Pre-Bhārata War History?' by Dr. A. S. Altekar.

¹⁵ *Chinese English Dictionary*, by H. A. Giles, London, 1892.

amounting to 653 common years taken together. The Kaliyuga era is alluded to by Hesiod (circa 776 B.C.) who fixed Trojan Capta in the Third or Bronze Age (786—1128 B.C.) and himself in the Iron Age which was the Fourth. Aristotle (384—322 B.C.) refers to it as the 'Perfect Year'. The Deluge is referred to B.C. 2348, although the Ain refers to it to B.C. 3101. Perhaps here there is a reference to the Yudhiṣṭhira era as Kalhaṇa, Varāha-mihira and Garga assign it to 2448 (3101—653) B.C. It seems it was due to contact with the Greeks and the Vedic notion of a 5 years yuga that the date 2448 B.C. was arrived at by deducting 5 years from the Great Year of 658 years and so only 653 (658—5) were subtracted from the initial epoch of the Kali Era 3101 B.C. Formerly the *Gavām Aynam* was calculated as a period of 5 years and the Yuga was also supposed to be of 5 years. I cannot understand how a period of 100 years was lost sight of and instead of 2448, B.C. 2348 was supposed to be the date of the Deluge.

King Alexander (356—323 B.C.) like Emperor Chin Ize Wang¹⁶ wanted to be known to posterity that all achievements of the Greek civilisation were made during his reign and made possible by his creative influence. So he got all history books destroyed and other records of the period were also mutilated. Alexander wanted to introduce himself as the Eleusis and his visit to the shrine of Siva in Lybia clearly discloses his design. Success was impossible without control and change of the calendar and the priests were not easily inclined to yield to it. So when Julius Caesar actually altered it as chief pontiff, he was slain.

The Syro-Macedonian Era dates from the death of Alexander. Others assert that he established it in the seventh year of his reign when he set out from Macedonia bent on foreign conquest. This era was in use both with the Jews and the Syrians. They relate that when Alexander the son of Philip marched from Greece to the conquest of Persia, he passed through Jerusalem. Summoning the learned Jews of Syria he directed them to discontinue the Mosaical Era and to employ his own. They thus answered¹⁷ him, "Our forefathers never observe any era above a thousand years and this year our era will complete the thousand; from next year, therefore, thy command shall be obeyed." It took place in Alexander's 27th year. Some maintain that this Grecian era is of Hebrew origin. Battani mentions this era and he bases on it the calculation of the mean places of the planets in his Canon.

But in spite of his best efforts Alexander could neither efface the legends nor suppress the dates successfully. By altering the colours he attested his divine character which none except his mother afterwards ventured to doubt and Callisthenes had to pay with his life for this indiscretion. As his destination was India, where he was to appear as the reincarnation of Bacchus or Dionysus, an Indian date was indispensable for the success of his design and consequently he declined to adopt any of the various incarnation dates which did not agree with the eras of any of the countries through which he passed. All that the astronomers and astrologers could do was to build upon them with the ecliptical cycle of 658 years. But when he reached India he found that the clock of time had been set back to the Saptarṣikāla, and shortly after his death the pretenders of the heterodox year 90 B.C. and following them, Augustus the Omniscient adopted the interval. The Olympiad of B.C. 470 was adopted which resulted in the series of A.C. 188; B.C. 470; 1128; 1786; 2444 and 3102—1 B.C. Even the Olympiac date of B.C. 776 would seem to be a reminiscence of the Saptarṣi era which started in B.C. 3076 of which the hundreds were generally omitted, just as the Roman era of 748 B.C. may be regarded to be based upon that of the Kaliyuga era of 2448 B.C.

Roman Chronology: Diodorus Siculus computed the Hyperborean era of Apollo (Augustus) at exactly 3760 B.C. which is the present Anno Mundi (year of the world) of the Jews.¹⁸ By subtracting 658 we arrive at exactly 3102—1 B.C. as the epoch of the Kaliyuga era, B.C. 753 is supposed by Varo to be the date of foundation of Rome. Other dates¹⁹ are B.C. 751, 750, 748 and 728. Augustus altered it from B.C. 816 to 738 (816—78) B.C. If 15 is added to 738 we arrive at 753 B.C. as the present date of the foundation of Rome and if 5 is subtracted from 753 we get B.C. 748 the actual date of foundation. The heterodox Manvantaras of B.C. 90 (commencement of the Maisian or social war), 748 (foundation of Rome), 1406, 2064 (before Charlemagne, Christian chronologists used frequently to reckon in years

¹⁶ *Modern Review*, 1936, p. 580.

¹⁸ *Pliny*, VI, 31.

¹⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, III, 24.

¹⁹ *Manual of Dates*, Townsend, 1862.

of Abraham, i.e. from his birth which was placed by Eusebius at a date corresponding to 2016 B.C. and by others at 2064 B.C.) 2722 (2717 B.C. (2722-5) Menes, the first king of Egypt begins to reign) and 3380 were known to the later classical world and the first four are found in modern chronological works without comprehending their meaning. The year 816 B.C. was one of the Messianic years in the Nabonassa series altered by calendrical shiftings. The process is described at length in the 'Worship of Augustus Caesar' which may be consulted with advantage but I have not been able to see the book in spite of my best efforts. Ptolemy, the astronomer computed the planetary motions on the era of Bakht Nassar²⁰ (Nebuchadnezzar) which was based on the Egyptian years, in his 'Almagst' which begins with B.C. 748 (90 + 658) or (2341-1596) which was really founded upon the Kaliyuga. The adoption of Ptolemy's work by the church explains why it has remained the orthodox chronological authority to this day.

Egyptian Chronology : Breasted, Burrows and others admit that the antiquity of Egyptian civilisation has been grossly exaggerated. Egyptians got for their calendar earlier dates from the Persians or Chaldeans and the latter from the Indians. The reason for the persistent adherence to a mysterious date or interval of time is that the Chaldeans and Egyptians did not know the correct measure of the Great Year. Their first knowledge of it appears after the Indian expedition of Darius (522—484 B.C.), when Anaxagoras was thrown into prison for venturing to suggest it. The correct measure was the solar cycle of 6585.78 days amplified in the Indian sidereal ten-months year to 6585 months or roughly 658 years. 6585.78 days would correspond to 18 years (6585.78/360) and a fraction like the multiplied ecliptical cycle of the Kaliyuga. The average date of Menes (= Mines, Menu, Mene or Manu), the Egyptian creator or Brahman is 3144 B.C. from which if we subtract 60 (the Brhaspati cycle) and add 15 years we arrive at exactly 3101-2 B.C. as the epoch of the Kali era which is the basis of all computations.

The year of the ancient Egyptians brought back the commencement of the year to the same place every 1461 years. The first of these periods commenced in B.C. 1322. We learn from the Latin writer Censorinus that the first day of the Egyptian calendar year coincided with the rising of Sothis in A.C. 138 and it must therefore have done the same thing on 1461 years earlier and so on, i.e., B.C. 1322, 2783, 4244, 5705. The historical epoch²¹ in Egypt probably dates from the introduction of a correct calendar in B.C. 4241 or 4238 B.C. (4244 --circa 5 years) from the time when the art of writing was perfected. The beginning of the fourth dynasty falls approximately in B.C. 3100.

Chaldean and Babylonian Era : In the Bible various eras occur, e.g., the Flood, the Exodus, the Earthquake, in the days of king Uzziah, the Babylonian exile. Bailly (p. 270) proves that the Chaldeans and Babylonians got their astronomy, along with the Kaliyuga era as a starting point, and the metonic cycle from India and imparted it to the Egyptians. Ptolemy while seeking for an astronomical starting point of Babylon could find nothing more ancient than the lunar observations of B.C. 747 or Nabonassan epoch of 748 B.C. On a Nineveh tablet (now in the British Museum) is recorded a solar eclipse which Sir Henry Rawlinson²² fixed on 15th July, 763. This would help us to arrive at the initial point of the Nabonassan epoch if we allow for the transportation of months in dragging from ten to twelve months calendar. 2234 B.C. is the incarnation date of the Babylonian God Ball.²³ So naturally 2248 and 748 B.C. would appear to be reminiscences of the epoch of 2448 B.C. which is clearly based upon the Kaliyuga era, as we have to reduce 14 years (the intervening period between the deification of Augustus and the epoch of the Christian era) to arrive at 2234 B.C. after deducting two centuries from the Kaliyugan reckoning of B.C. 2448, i.e., 2448—200—14 = 2234 B.C.

Mexican Chronology : As the Maya²⁴ chronology was the only efficient one in pre-Columbian America it would, if fixed, throw much light on that of America as a whole. Thompson places it on 13th August 3113 B.C. and Spinden on October 14, 3373 B.C. Here the year 3113 B.C. is very near the epoch of the Kali Era 3101 B.C. and it would seem to be based upon it if 14 years may be subtracted from it.

²⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*.

²¹ *A History of the Ancient World*, by M. Rostostzeff, Oxford, 1926, p. 32.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²³ *Messiah*, Ch. IV, p. 17, n. 3.

According to Humboldt, the ancient Mexicans had four ages : Tlat, Tlet, Eheca and At and their calendar consisted of 18 months and a fraction. This is a reminiscence of the sidereal year of 658 years of the Hindus. The reappearance of the Mexican Messiah was dated in years equivalent to A.C. 64, B.C. 594, 1252, always 658 years apart. This would go to show that they had the Kaliyugan reckoning.

Etruria, Arabia and Persia : The eighth age of Tuscany, which Plutarch mentions in Sylla, proves that they adopt two Great Years to the Kaliyuga which began with them in B.C. 4418 ($3102 + 658 + 658$) and ended in B.C. 90. Both of these are teleologically Kaliyugan dates.

The year 3101-2 B.C. was the Anno Mundi of the ancient Arabians,²⁵ how ancient is not known. Jamsed is placed somewhere between B.C. 3407—2691 a period which evidently covers the initial point of the Kaliyuga.

Jewish Calendar : According to Abul Fazl, the era of the Deluge was computed²⁶ from B.C. 3101 (4696—1595). Alberuni alludes to the Anno Mundi of the Jews at 3780 B.C. It was a very ancient era even in his own time because he says that it was computed by adding 3448 from creation to 332 for Alexander ante-Christus. There is no discernible foundation for 3448 years from the Creation to Alexander, but the Kaliyugan era which would help us to arrive at B.C. 3448 ($3102 + 332 + 14$). Alexandria was founded in B.C. 332. The other possible explanation for the Anno Mundi 3780 ($3448 + 332$) would be by subtracting 658 years from 3780 which would bring us to B.C. 3122 a date nearer the beginning of Kali era.

The Malabar Jews have 3760 B.C. as their Anno Mundi which is exactly one Great Year before the beginning of the Kali era ($3102 + 658$). The Bombay Jews never use it but for times before Christ. The Jews of Cordova (X century A.C.) fixed their Anno Mundi²⁷ at 3760 B.C. although the Alexandrian Jews (XI century A.C.) fixed it in 3752 B.C. before Augustus whose Egyptian apotheosis was fixed in A.C. 8, and so we arrive at the same date 3760 ($3752 + 8$) B.C. The equation of the eras is as follows : 1 after destruction = A.M. 3831—71 A.C. = 3760 B.C.

Conclusion : Thus it would appear that the Kaliyuga era, which in the opinion of James Fergusson is the 'only one fixed point in a sea of falsification', is the starting point of all and every one of the eras known in ancient India, China, Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, Chaldea, Arabia, Rome and Mexico. If this is so we have a new basis for the history of the world, which, in the learned opinion²⁸ of the Hon'ble Alex Bel Mar, will begin not in any western country, but in India.

N.B.—I am extremely indebted to Rev. Ross Wilson, Head of the History Department, Panjab University, who has kindly gone through the article and suggested improvements.

²⁴ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (14th ed.), Vol. V, 662.

²⁵ Max Idler's *L'ere des Arabs*, p. 32 ; Augustus Caesar, p. 77.

²⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, III, 22.

²⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (14th ed.), V, 660.

²⁸ *Indian Review*, 1913, p. 282, 'The Kaliyuga', by Hon'ble Alex Del Mar.

KALAPRIYA AND BRAHMAŚILĀ

By Dr. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

There is an interesting passage in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*¹ which refers to the Antarvedi bounded by the Ganges in the north, the Jumna in the south, Vinaśana (same as the Kurukṣetra according to the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*²) in the west and Prayāga (Allahabad) in the east. Thereafter the passage runs --

तदपेक्षया दिशो विभजेत इत्याचार्याः । तत्रापि महोदयं मूलमधिकृत्य इति यायावरीयः । अनियतत्वाद्दिशाम-
निश्चितो दिग्बिभाग इत्येके । तथा हि यो वामनस्वामिनः पूर्वः स ब्रह्मशिलायाः पश्चिमः यो गाधिपुरस्य दक्षिणः स
कालप्रियस्योत्तर इति । अर्वाचनिबन्धनमिदं रूपमितरत्त्वनियतमेव इति यायावरीयः ।

The reference to the four localities—Vāmanasvāmin in the west, Brahmaśilā in the east, Gādhipura in the north and Kālapriya in the south—is very interesting to the student of the historical geography of ancient India, especially when we know that the author of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* lived at Kanauj, the capital of his Pratihāra patrons. In the notes appended to the G. O. S. edition of the above work (pp. 243-44), it has been suggested that the said four localities were situated respectively in the western, eastern, northern and southern suburbs of the city of Kanauj.

It has been pointed out that, according to the *Padma Purāṇa*,³ Rāma built a temple for the god Vāmana at Mahodaya, i.e. Kanauj. The author of the notes referred to above conjectures that the temple of Vāmana was probably situated at the western end of the city. He admits that Rājaśekhara's own *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* (X, 88) applies the name Gādhipura to Kanauj itself, and indeed this identification is supported by a number of authorities including Hemacandra.⁴ Still, however, he concludes that Gādhipura was a locality in the northern suburbs of Kanauj, while Kālapriya was at its southern end. It has been rightly pointed out that the dramas of Bhavabhūti, who lived at the court of King Yaśovarman of Kanauj (c. 725-52 A.C.), were staged before the audience assembled in connection with festivities held in honour of the god Kālapriyanātha, presiding deity of the locality called Kālapriya. The views of the commentators on Bhavabhūti's works identifying Kālapriyanātha with the god Mahākāleśvara of Ujjain or with the presiding deity of Padmapura, Bhavabhūti's birth place, have, again, been rightly rejected. It has then been suggested that Kālapriyanātha was probably the presiding deity of the city of Kanauj which was the capital of Bhavabhūti's patron and that possibly the god's temple was situated in the southern suburbs of the city. The position of Brahmaśilā at the eastern end of Kanauj has been conjecturally determined on the strength of the identification of the other three localities.

It will be seen that the location of the four places in the suburbs of Kanauj is actually based on mere conjecture. It must be admitted that Gādhipura was either another name of Kanauj or at least the name of a part of the city. We should therefore search for a locality called Kālapriya to the south of Kanauj. According to Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*,⁵ the poet's ancestral home at Padmapura lay "on the road to the south" with reference to the shrine of the god Kālapriyanātha. It is strange that some scholars have identified this Padmapura with Padam Pawaya (ancient Padmāvati) near Narwar (ancient Nalapura) in the Gwalior State.⁶ The prelude to Bhavabhūti's *Viracarita* places Padma-

¹ G. O. S. edition, 1934, p. 94.

² III, 14— कुरुक्षेत्रे विनशनम् .

³ Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 89; *Padma Purāṇa*, *Śiṣṭikhaṇḍa*, ch. 35 (Banga-bāsi edition, ch. 38, 186-87); *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, ch. 53.

⁴ *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Bhūmikāṇḍa, VV. 39-40— कान्यकुब्जं महोदयम् ॥ कान्यकुब्जं गाविपुरं
कौशं कुलस्थलं च तत् ॥

⁵ Cf. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 209.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

pura in the Dākṣiṇāpatha or Deccan, while the *Mālatīmādhava*, with more definiteness, locates it in Vidarbha (modern Berar) in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The identification of Bhavabhūti's birthplace with modern Padampur in the Bhandara District of C. P. (near the Amgaon Ry. Station) seems to be reasonable. Kālapriya, therefore, was situated to the south of Kanauj and to the north of Padampur which, it may be pointed out, lies directly to the south of Kanauj. It is very interesting to note that the only Kālapriya known to history and situated, like both Kanauj and Padampur, to the west of long. 80, appears to be modern Kālpī on the Jumna in the Jalaon District of U. P. about 75 miles directly to the south of Kanauj. It was an important station between the Ganges-Jumna Doab and the south not only during the Muslim period but also in the early medieval age. In the first quarter of the tenth century A.C., when Indra III,⁷ the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Deccan, was advancing against Kanauj, the capital of his Pratihāra enemies, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army was for a time encamped at Kālpī where it crossed the Jumna. The Cambay grant of Govinda IV gives the story in the following verse :

यन्मद्याद्विपदन्तघातविषमं कालप्रियप्राङ्गणं
तीर्णां यत्तुरगैरगाद्य यमुना सिन्धुप्रतिस्पर्धिनी ।
येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं
नाम्राद्यापि कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते⁸ ॥

The identity of Kālapriya with Kālpī is proved by epigraphic evidence. In the Khaḍāvadā inscription (1484 A.C.) of King Ghiyās Shāh Khalji of Maṇḍu, Husamga Gorī (Hushang Alp Khān Ghūrī) is represented as having defeated Kādīra Sāhi (Abdul Qādir), ruler of Kālapriyapattana and having made the latter's son Salaha a Khān at Maṇḍu. This Kālapriyapattana is apparently different from Ujjain and Kanauj and is no doubt the same as Kālpī. The name Kālapriya applied to Kālpī can thus be traced to a date as late as the fifteenth century A.C. (see *JBBRAS*, XXIII, pp. 12 ff). At Kālpī there still exists a temple of Kālapriya. The Kālpī region formed parts of the Kanauj Kingdom under Yaśovarman. The annual fair and festivities held in honour of Kālpriyanātha were no doubt the most famous in the whole kingdom. It was, therefore, not at all unnatural that Bhavabhūti's dramas were staged on such occasions at Kālpī.

If the *Padma Purāṇa* is to be believed, the temple of Vāmanasvāmin was situated somewhere in the city of Kanauj. We should, therefore, search for a locality called Brah-

⁷ The date of this northern expedition is usually supposed to be A.D. 916 as Indra III is believed to have died in 917 A.D. Both the dates are, however, problematical ; cf. Sewell, *HISI*, p. 43 ; *ER*, 271-72 of 1918.

⁸ Cf. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 102. There is a pun on the word *Kuśa-thala* which indicates the city of Kanauj as well as a field covered with *kuśa* grass. According to the much exaggerated claim put forward in the verse, Indra III totally destroyed the city of Kanauj which from that time became a field of *kuśa* grass. There is, however, no reason to believe that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were successful in razing Kanauj to the ground or to paralyse Pratihāra power in the Doab even for a short period. That Malwa was occupied by Indra III is based on the wrong identification of Kālapriya with Mahākāleśvara of Ujjain. For Pratihāra possession of Kanauj, cf. Partabgarh inscriptions of Mahendrapāla II, dated 946 A.C. The verse—यस्य परुषेक्षिताखिल दक्षिण दिग्दुर्गं विजयामाकथ्यं ।

गलिता गूर्जरहृदयात् कालंजरचित्रकूटाश

in the Deoli (940 A.C.) and Karhad 959 A.C. grants of Kṛṣṇa III does not imply that the Pratihāra fortress of Kālāṇjar and Citrakūṭa (Chitor) were captured by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who, however, merely threatened them. The claim of Govinda IV having been served by the Ganges and the Jumna does not again, prove his mastery over the Doab, but simply refers to the artificial representation of Gaṅgā and Yamunā at his palace gate. The *praśasti* of the Čālukya chief Narasiṃha, probably a feudatory of Indra III, to have defeated Pratihāra Mahīpāla I and to have bathed his own horse at the junction of the *Gaṅgāvārdhiyo* as found in the *Pampabhārata* appears to be a hopeless exaggeration. The decline of the Gurjara-Pratihāras had nothing especially to do with the northern expedition of Indra III. It was hastened by constant warfare on all fronts and especially by the protracted struggle for the throne (after the death of Mahīpāla I) about the middle of the tenth century A.C. Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, I, pp. 580-590.

maśilā to the east of Kanauj. But Brahmaśilā seems to be no other than Barhamshil mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī⁹ who says, "A man marching from Kanoj to the south between the two rivers Jaun and Ganges passes the following well-known places :—Jajjamau, 12 *farsakh* from Kanoj, each *farsakh* being equal to four miles or one *kurôh* ; Abhāpurī, 8 *farsakh* ; Kuraha, 8 *farsakh* ; Barhamshil, 8 *farsakh* ; the Tree of Prayāga, 12 *farsakh*, the place where the waters of the Jaun joins the Ganges, where the Hindus torment themselves with various kinds of tortures, which are described in the books about religious sects." As regards the measure of distance, Al-Bārūnī¹⁰ says that the *Krośa* is equal to "our mile," *yojana* is "equal to 8 miles or to 32,000 yards," and "1 *Kroh* = $\frac{1}{2}$ *yojana*." One *farsakh* was therefore equal to 4 Arabic miles and to $3^{771}/_{1093}$ English miles.¹¹ But the distance of Prayāga (Allahabad) from Kanauj, given as only 12 *farsakh*, is not actually less than 175 English miles even as the crow flies. This would make one *farsakh* equal to about 15 English miles.¹² Any way, Brahmaśilā was situated in the Doab between Kanauj and Allahabad. It was therefore to the south-east of Kanauj and to the north-west of Allahabad. If the identification of Rājaśekhara's Brahmaśilā and Al-Bīrūnī's Barhamshil be accepted, Vāmanasvāmin can hardly be located at Kanauj. It was probably a locality to the south or south-west of Kanauj.

DERIVATION OF PIŚĀCA AND PAIŚĀCI

By

Prof. D. R. MANKAD

The derivation of Piśāca and Paiśāci is, as yet, not a settled question. Grierson derives it from Piśitāšana, but this is evidently based upon the legendary explanation of the word Piśāca, which is man-eater.

I suggest that the Piśāca was the name of a country and of a people. I further suggest that this word Piśāca is derived from the basic *paśca* from which words like *paścāt* and *paścima* are derived. *Paśca* thus may mean 'west' or 'back'. The Hindi word *Piche* shows it. This *paśca*, by viśleṣa, can become *paśaca* and an additional 'i' would make it *piśāca*. The Hindi 'piche' preserves this 'i'. *Piśācas*, therefore, will be the western people. If there were *prāsyac-* the eastern people, there could have been the *piśācas-* the western people. When the Aryans were in the Upper Punjab and Kashmir, our modern Dardic regions, will be the western or *piśāca* regions. When the Aryans came to the Gangetic plains, the western people and regions will include, Malwa, Sind, Gujarat etc. And we find Rājaśekhara calling the people of Avantī, Daśārṇa and Pāriyātra by the name of Piśācas.

Vararuci gives Mahārāṣṭrī, Māgadhi, Śaurasenī and Paiśāci and Cūlikā Paiśāci. If we take Śaurasenī to represent the central regions, Māgadhi represents the eastern, Mahārāṣṭrī the southern and Paiśāci the western. Cūlikā Paiśāci may simply mean High or Top i.e. North-western Paiśāci.

That there was a country named Paiśāca is proved from the Behistun rock inscription of Darius which mentions a country Pissichada (? *paścāt*) (column I, para 2).

In this connection it will be interesting to note the two dialects of the modern Hindi language viz. the Eastern (Pūrabī) and the western (Pacchamī).

⁹ Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 200.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

¹¹ Cf. *op. cit.* II, p. 316.

¹² There may be mistakes in the original. The distance between Pāṭaliputra (Patna) and Banārasi (Benares), about 130 miles is given by Alberuni (*op. cit.*, I, p. 200) as 20 *farsakh*. This would make 1 *farsakh* = $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

STUDIES IN THE REGIONAL HISTORY OF INDIAN PAPER INDUSTRY (Paper-manufacture at Behar and Arwal in A.D. 1811-1812 as described by Francis Buchanan).

By Prof. P. K. GODE

As a result of my recent studies¹ in Indian Paleography I have been led to study the history of different centres of Indian paper industry, which is responsible for the large number of paper MSS that has survived the ravages of time and vandalism² since the introduction of paper into India c. A.D. 1000. As the history of these centres of indigenous paper manufacture is shrouded in obscurity, I have thought it advisable to put on record whatever facts I can gather about this history during the course of my other studies. Accordingly I published a contemporary account³ of the Paper-Manufacture at Harihar on the bank of Tungabhadra as given by Capt. Edward Moor about A.D. 1790. In the present paper I shall record a more detailed history of paper-manufacture at different centres in Behar as recorded in A.D. 1811-12 by Francis Buchanan.

In his *Account of the Districts of Behar and Patna in A.D. 1811-1812* (Book V) Buchanan has recorded a minute account of the State of Arts and Commerce of these districts. In Chap. II of Book V he speaks of *Common Artists* who live by making *ink* and *paper*⁵ as follows :—

Page 622—Ink-manufacture.

"A few people live by making *ink* which is kept both in a liquid and solid form. 95 S. W. of *linseed* oil give 4 S. W. of *lamp black* collected by an earthen lamp. Take 4 S. W. of *lamp black*, 5 S. W. of *gum* of the *Mimosa Indica*, add a little water, and rub in an iron mortar with a wooden pestle for three hours. Then infuse $\frac{1}{2}$ S. W. of *gall nuts* in 10 S. W.

¹ These studies are :—

- (1) "Migration of Paper from China to India" (vide pp. 205-222 of *Paper-making*, by K. B. Joshi, Wardha C. P.) 1944.
- (2) "Saint Rāmadāsa's Discourse on the Writing and Preservation of MSS and its importance for the History of Indian Paleography", (*New Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. VII).
- (3) "Use of Cloth for Letter-writing at the Court of Harṣa (A.D. 606-647) (*Hiriyanna Commemoration Volume*).

² Vide pp. 335-336 of Bernier's *Travels* (Constable, London, 1891) Bernier's patron Danishmand Khān could not purchase a MS of the Vedas because "The *Gentiles* indeed conceal them with much care, lest they should fall into the hands of the *Mahometans*, and be burnt, as frequently has happened."

³ Vide pp. 87-95 of *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Bombay, 1944, Vol. V.

⁴ *Patna-Gaya Report*, by F. Buchanan, Vol. II, published by the Behar and Orissa Research Society, Patna. In 1807 the Directors of the East India Co. recommended to the Governor-General that a statistical survey of Bengal should be carried out and that Dr. Francis Buchanan, who had already carried out the survey of Mysore should be appointed for this purpose. Buchanan accordingly carried out the survey and submitted his reports as per directions of the Governor-General.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 689—Speaking of persons by whom commerce is conducted, Buchanan observes :—

"*Paper* in most small towns is sold by the *Pasarīs*, or druggists, or by the *Khichri-juroshi*, who deal in *Pasari* goods; but in Patna some shop-keepers (*Kaguzi*) sell nothing else except *blank books for keeping accounts*. Some of them purchase the paper rough and have it smoothed by the *Mohurahdar*. Their Capitals are from 50 to 150 Rs. Some persons of the Kayastha tribe hawk about the streets the books in the profane language that are most commonly read. Two Brahmins in Patna hawk *almanacs made at Benares*."

of water and add the strained infusion to the rubbed materials. Then rub again for 3 hours, then put the pot into the sun, until the paste dries sufficiently to admit of its being made into small lumps, which are dried in the sun. These do not spoil by keeping a considerable time."

Page 623.-- "A considerable quantity of *paper*⁶ is made at BEHAR and ARWAL. It is whiter than that made at RONGGUPUR; but has all its other imperfections, and that of BEHAR especially is less durable, while the least dampness in the air occasions common *ink* to sink, so as to form almost illegible blots. It is only *ink*⁷ made of the cakes prepared as above mentioned, that can be used with such paper. At BEHAR the paper most commonly made is that called *Dufturi*, which is $19 \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ inches a sheet, and is that used in common business, but other kinds of a large size, and rather superior quality are made, when commissioned. The material is *old bags* of the *Crotolaria juncea*. These are cut into small pieces, and, having been soaked in water, are beaten with the instrument called the *Dhengki*. The pulp is then put on a *cloth strainer*, washed with water, and dried on a rock. This substance is then put into a cistern with some ley of *soda*, and is trodden with the feet for some hours after which it is in the same manner washed and dried and these operations with the soda are in all performed six times. The *bleached* pulp is then put into a cistern with a large quantity of water and is diligently stirred with a stick for about three quarters of an hour, when it is wrought off into *sheets* as usual. The moist sheets are stuck on a smooth wall and dried. Having been rubbed with *paste* made of flour and water, they are then smothered by placing them on a *plank* and rubbing them with *stone*.

The expense and profits of making *seven* reams are as follows :—

Forty-two sers ($86\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.) of *old bags*, 2 Rs.; 42 sers impure *soda*, 2 Rs.; 42 sers *lime* for making the ley 1 Re.; *labourers* for beating with the *Dhengki*, 1 Re. 12 annas; a *man* to stir about the materials, 8 annas; *pasting* and *smoothing* the paper with a stone, 5 annas; *flour* and *firewood* for making the *paste*, 2 annas, 6 pice; *drying* the sheets, 4 annas; *cutting* the paper, 6 pice—Total 7 Rupees.

The *guddi* or ream consists of 10 quires (*desthaks*) each containing 23 sheets, and sells by whole at $8\frac{3}{4}$ Rs. so that the maker has $1\frac{3}{4}$ Rs. profit. He does nothing but form the sheets, taking them as usual from the cistern on a frame, which retains the paper and allows the water to escape. He makes about *one ream* a day; and if he works 315 days* in the year, he will earn about 80 Rs. a year; and in fact, these people are in easy circumstances. In the 30 houses at BEHAR are 100 men, and in the 13 divisions exclusive of Arwal, that are in the district, there are probably 40 houses, or in all 140 men, who, at the rate above-mentioned will make paper to the value of 32,000 Rs. a year.

At ARWAL 20 families keep an equal number of beaters (*dhengkis*) and the estimate, which I procured depends on the work performed by each of these. On the opposite side of the Son river, however, in SHAHABAD are 50 beaters and the whole produce of these is sold as *Arwal paper*, which although made of the same materials is *whiter* and *more durable* than that made at Behar and is commonly *used by Persian writers all over Bengal*. Each beater usually makes five bales in the year; and each bale contains 20 reams. Two bales of the first quality at 4 Rs. a ream, 160 Rs.; 2 bales of the second quality at $3\frac{1}{2}$ Rs. a ream, 140 Rs.; 1 bale of the third quality at $2\frac{1}{2}$ Rs. a ream, 50 Rs.—Total 350 rupees.

The total paper, therefore, made by 20 beaters will be worth 7,000 Rs. The following is the statement, that I procured, of the *annual expense* attending *each beater* :

⁶ "A quire of paper" was sent from Surat to Broach on 23rd December 1614 by El-kington to Oxwick (vide p. 46 of *Supplementary Calendar of India Office Documents* (1600-1640), by W. Foster, London, 1928. Possibly this paper was not of Indian manufacture.

⁷ Saint Rāmadāsa of Mahārāṣṭra (c. A.D. 1650) in his *Lekhana-nirūpana* (*Dāsabodha*, *Daśaka* 19, *Samāsa* 1) refers to ink made from lamp-black. I-tsing (A.D. 671) at Nalanda ordered cakes of ink and paper from China for writing Sanskrit MSS. Bühler in his *Kashmir MSS Report* (1887) p. 30, refers to ink for writing on *Bhūrjapatra* made from almonds converted into charcoal. This charcoal was then boiled with *gomūtra*. This ink becomes water-proof.

To 2620 sers (46 S. W.) or about 3,069 lbs. of *old bags* or *nets*, which are still better, 57 Rs. 8 annas ; to *soda* 2,340 sers, or 2,762 lbs., 45 Rs. ; to *lime*, the same quantity, 30 Rs. ; to *flour* for *paste*, 5 Rs. ; to *cloth* for strainers, baskets etc. 2 Rs. ; to *moulds*, or *frames*, 1 Re. 3 annas ; to *labourers* for beating etc. 80 Rs. ; to working off the *sheets*, 25 Rs. ; to *drying* and *smoothing*, 7 Rs. 15 annas, 6 pice ; to *pasting* 5 Rs. ; to *cutting* and *packing* 15 Rs.—*Total* 286 Rs. 6 annas, 6 pice.

The net *profit*, therefore, on each beater, besides paying every person for his labour is 73 Rs. 6 annas, 6 pice. The materials are divided into five equal shares, each capable of making one bale. Under the beater of the implement is a small *cistern*, the bottom of which is stone. In this is at once put the fifth part of the *old bags* or *nets* with a large quantity of water and it is *beaten for six days*, after which it is washed on a *strainer*. It is then beaten two days with a ley of *soda*, washed and dried. This beating with the ley of *soda* is done in all nine times, after each of which the *pulp* is washed and dried. In dry cold weather each subsequent beating occupies eight or ten days, in the hot season five or six days are sufficient. The paste when thoroughly bleached, is formed into sheets as usual. All the sheets formed in one way are in the evening placed under a plank on which two or three men sit for about an hour to squeeze out the water. It is then stuck on a wall, and falls off next morning when dry. It is then pasted on one side and dried, and then it is pasted on the other side and dried, rubbed with a stone, and cut square. All the *paper-makers* here also are *Muhammedans*.⁸ The *Mohurahdars* are persons, who smooth paper by rubbing it with polished glass, which obliterates entirely the marks of the frame, as is done by hot *pressing*, and gives the surface a glossy smoothness. This operation costs from eight to ten annas a ream, and the workmen must make very handsome wages.

Although many great idle fellows amuse themselves with *paper-kites*, the makers cannot live the whole year by this profession as few amuse themselves with this sport except in the cool season. The makers, therefore, retail toys for children, which are made by the potters, and the apparatus used in smoking tobacco. Their kites (*telanggi* or *guddi*) are not superior to those of PURANIYA."

In *Table 40*, p. 767 Buchanan gives us a List of Artists in the City of Patna and the district of Behar. In this table the number of artists engaged in paper-manufacture is as follows :—

<i>Division or Thanah.</i>	<i>Paper-maker.</i>	<i>Mohurradar.</i>	<i>Guddi-maker.</i>
Patna City	3	13	14
Bakipur-Jaywar	5	..	..
Behar	30	..	25
Jahanabad	2	..	..
Daudnagar	4	..	..
Arwal	20	..	..
Gaya .. ..	..	..	17
Bar .. ..	..	..	1
Total ..	64	13	57

The foregoing economic and industrial survey⁹ by Francis Buchanan of the *paper-ma-*

⁸ On pp. 311-312 of Vol. I of *Patna-Gaya Report* Buchanan records a list of Muhammedan tradesmen of 38 tribes. In this list we find "*Paper-makers, 110 families.*"

⁹ Vide p. iii of Intro. to Vol. I of Buchanan's *Report (Patna Gaya)*. Buchanan carried out to the letter the instructions of the Governor General regarding this survey. His report on *fine arts, common arts* and *manufactures* is made according to the following instructions : "VI—The progress made by the natives in the *fine arts*, in the *common arts*, and the state of the *manufactures* ; you will describe their architecture, sculptures, and paintings,

nufacture current in Behar and Patna in A.D. 1811-1812 is, I believe, an ideal one for any history of regional paper-manufacture in India. Moor's description of the paper-manufacture at Harihar on the bank of Tungabhadra recorded by him on the basis of the notes made by him in the hurry of the siege of Dharwar in A.D. 1790 is not so scientific as Buchanan's account recorded above. If we can discover such detailed accounts of the paper-manufacture centres in other parts of India, either early or late, they would facilitate our reconstruction of the history of these centres on documentary evidence.

When Buchanan recorded his account of the paper-manufacture in Behar and Patna in A.D. 1811-1812 many inventions and improvements in the making of paper had already taken place in Europe e.g. the discovery of *Chlorine* by Scheele (A.D. 1774), the discovery of the bleaching action of *Chlorine gas* by Berthelot (A.D. 1785), the discovery of the bleaching action of *Soda ash* by Leblanc (A.D. 1791), the introduction of *bleaching powder* by Tennant of Glasgow (A.D. 1800) and the introduction of *resin* for sizing of paper-pulp A.D. 1807). It is possible to suppose that Buchanan was aware of at least some of those discoveries and improvement in Paper-making current in Europe prior to his visit to Behar and Patna.

In connection with Buchanan's account of the paper-manufacture at Behar and Arwal in A.D. 1811-12. I have to invite the attention of the reader to a very interesting paper by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, on the *Daphne Paper of Nepal*, published in the *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I (pages 377-391). I note below some points from this paper which will acquaint the reader with the history of Nepal paper-industry as recorded by Mr. Ali :—

- (1) *Paper-making* in Nepal had attained a high degree of technical excellence at a remarkably early age.
- (2) When Europe was trying to find out the secrets of cheap paper to meet the growing demand for it among civilised nations, Nepal was transforming *wood-pulp* into paper and flooding the Gangetic valley with very cheap writing material.
- (3) The theory that the art of paper-making was brought to India by the Mughals is not acceptable.
- (4) It will be difficult to prove any direct connection between the Nepal paper and the Mughal Court.
- (5) There is little affinity between the processes of Nepal paper-making and those followed in Kashmir and the Punjab where imperial patronage bore fruit.
- (6) It was from China that paper made its way into Nepal.
- (7) The paper-industry of China entered Nepal between 7th and 9th centuries when Chinese influences impressed themselves deeply on Nepalese culture and civilization.
- (8) Nepal paper once commanded a very extensive market. It was exported southwards to Hindusthan and northwards to Sokyagumba, Digarchi and other places in Tremountane Bhote. It was used all over Kumayun and was sold at Patna, Kessarish, Sarun, Janikpur, Darbhanga in Tirhoot, Poorneah, Govindgunge, Alligunge in Sarun, Nichoul and Lorun in Gorukpur, Toolsipur, Bulrampur, and Tandah in Oude. This was the condition of Nepal paper-industry as recorded by Mr. Hodgson, the British Resident at Khatmandu in 1837 and also by Dr. Campbell, who resided in Nepal at this time.

and inquire into the different processes and machinery used by their workmen, and procure an account of the various kinds and amount of goods manufactured in each district. It should also be an object of your attention to ascertain the ability of the country to produce the *raw materials* used in them, and *what proportion, if any, is necessary to be imported from other countries and under what advantages or disadvantages* such importation now is, or might be made.... Should it appear to you that any new *art or manufacture* might be introduced with advantage into any district you are to point out in what manner you think it might be accomplished."

- (9) In 1831 (8th December) Mr. B. H. Hodgson, the then resident at Khatmandu sent specimens of Nepal paper to Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Governor-General for presentation to Lord William Bentinck. Hodgson recommended that Nepal paper should be used for office records in place of the common paper of Hindustan. Dr. Campbell, the Asst. Resident fully endorsed the opinion of Hodgson.
- (10) Lord Auckland made an inquiry about Nepal paper¹⁰ in 1837. In 1841 British Government opened a factory at Darjeeling with Dr. Campbell in charge of the work but it was closed on 16th April 1842 as it was found uneconomical to run it.
- (11) Mr. Ali concludes his paper by observing "that Government made anything but a fair trial of the scheme and its failure may reasonably be attributed to the lukewarmness of the high officials." He thinks, however, that a vast field for the development of this nationalist paper-making industry is still lying in India with a view to make India dependent on none but herself for her writing material. I fully endorse these remarks of Mr. Ali as their force has been brought home to all writers and editors of literary works and newspapers in India in these days of scarcity of paper consequent upon war conditions.

Like the history of the Daphne paper of Nepal the history of Indian paper centres, if reconstructed from reliable data, will enlighten us as to how this paper industry originated, developed and finally declined. It will also impress upon the present day industrialists the necessity of starting this industry at different centres in India again with the necessary improvements to suit the present conditions of labour and life in our village which ought to be made economically self-sufficient and free from unemployment which has threatened the very existence of the villagers at critical stages of our national history in the past and will do so also in the near future when the war-time employment will cease and our labourers will be thrown on their own resources.

¹⁰ Buchanan refers to the Nepal paper imported into Bihar in A.D. 1811-1812 as follows : Pages 678-679 of Vol. II—Of Exports and Imports (*Patna Gaya Report*)

"A little of the *paper* comes from *Nepal*; the remainder comes mostly from *Shahbad*. It is exported to the east. The quantities both exported and imported are probably much underrated, the whole manufacture at *Arwal* on both sides of the Son being worth on the spot 28,000 R. When this is smoothed and fitted for the market, it will be at least worth 32,000 R. and probably 24,000 will be exported, 2/7 belonging to these districts and 5/7 to *Shahbad*."

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NOTES AND NEWS

Our First Convocation.

The First Convocation of the Bhavan was held at the Bhavan premises on Sunday, 15th July, 1944. Mr. Justice N. S. Lokur delivered the Convocation address. A large and distinguished gathering attended the function. Diplomas and prizes were awarded to twenty-six candidates who had passed the Bhavan's examinations. Nine medals were also presented to the winners of the Bhavan's All-India Indian Culture Essay Competitions.

Shri Munshiji, the President, in the course of his introductory remarks said that for the first time in the last six years of its life, the Bhavan has now emerged into a sort of miniature university giving its own titles to students who appeared in the examinations held by the Bhavan.

Discussing the report of the last year given elsewhere in this issue, Shri Munshiji said that the first concept had been to hold examinations in Shastric studies and the Gita. Uptil now the Bhavan was teaching students for University examinations. Hereafter the Bhavan will specialise in training students for its own examinations.

Stressing the need for enlivening Sanskrit studies Shri Munshiji continued :

"Sanskrit is the fountain source of Indian Culture. In order that our culture should continue to take a foremost place in the world culture of today, the old system of Sanskrit education which only provided an asylum for poor Brahmin boys without regard to what they learn must be overhauled. Sanskrit must come to occupy the position of a living force in life catering to modern needs. This equally requires that scholars who have studied under the old system must absorb new methods and on the other hand that they be accorded a position to which they are entitled by reason of their scholarship."

"Our Nationalism" said Shri Munshiji, "is not a forced growth of a foreign imitation. It is the flowering of the genius of India, of which the roots are deeply imbedded in the ancient culture of the land. And in the freedom we covet, we only seek the right and the power to translate our culture into a way of life which will raise humanity from the slough of materialism."

Justice Lokur's Address.

I am glad to be present among you this afternoon, and I am thankful to be asked to take part in the proceedings of this delightful function. But I am afraid the selection has not been very happy. When the Registrar first mentioned this function to me, I thought that I was to preside at the opening of the Singhi Library and I promised to preside if I be free. Then on the telephone I told him that I was free on Sunday evening. But when I received the printed invitation, I was surprised to read that I had to deliver the Convocation Address. That expression is too bombastic for the few words that I intend to say. I had hardly any time to prepare an address befitting the occasion and I must apologise to you for disappointing you. In fact I should have declined this honour in favour of a more learned oriental scholar who could do justice to the occasion.

Now I am going to content myself with expressing my admiration for the excellent work which this Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has done during the past six years and has been now doing. It has undertaken very ambitious programmes for the advancement of *Bhāratīya Vidyā* and has several branches of activities. Primarily it spreads knowledge by teaching and arranging lectures of eminent scholars. It examines students like a University and gives them certificates, diplomas and prizes. It possesses not only a huge library of printed books, but also a collection of rare manuscripts. It carries on research work. And, lastly, it conducts magazines and publishes books of reputed authors. Thus it has spread itself in all directions and has been rendering yeoman service to *Bhāratīya Vidyā*. It may be stated, without fear of contradiction, that all this is the fruit of the labours of one high souled individual—Shriyut K. M. Munshi. The idea was conceived by him, it was developed by him, and it is being carried out by him with the assistance of a band of enthusiastic scholars. This shows what the sincere and well-directed efforts of a single dynamic person can achieve in the course of such a short time. In one sentence Shriyut Munshi is to this Bhavan what Pandit Malavyaji is to the Benares Hindu University.

The Bhavan has placed before itself a very lofty ideal, and although its main purpose is to propagate Sanskrit studies, its curriculum comprises a variety of subjects, including history, politics, mathematics, music and painting. The object is not merely to make the student a Sanskrit scholar, but also a useful citizen. No Hindu can claim to have completed his education unless he has studied Sanskrit. Our religion and culture are imbedded in it. It is really the most beautiful language in which to express one's thought.

Bhāṣāsu mukhyā madhurā divyā gīrvāṇa Bhārati.

In no language can a thought be expressed in such a variety of ways as in Sanskrit. I may have a partiality for Sanskrit, but I feel no doubt that the beauty of expression in Sanskrit is incomparable. Apart from a sort of patriotism involved in the study of our ancient literature, one ought to study it at least to enjoy the pleasure of its beauty. We find beauty even in such books as Sanskrit dictionaries. In no other language, so far as I know, are dictionaries versified; but we have nearly 80 "Kośas" like those of Amara, Yādava, Medini and Viśva, vying with each other in versifying a comprehensive dictionary of the Sanskrit language. Amara's Kośa, which I think is the best of the lot, contains all the words in common use in Sanskrit, very systematically arranged. The Shastric system of Sanskrit study includes the learning of Amara Kośa and Pāṇini's grammar by heart. In our school we used to learn by heart Amara Kośa, or at least Amara Sāra. I must here take the opportunity of disapproving of the wholesale condemnation of studying by heart. It is said to blunt the memory and cause a strain on the students. I am still unconvinced that it does either. On the other hand it whets the memory and makes the students accurate and exact. There is no harm in going through light literature by rapid reading, but there are some matters which deserve to be committed to memory. Ability to reproduce the beautiful expressions used by great writers is a very valuable asset. It is only during the young age that these can be memorised. From my personal experience I can say that what I committed to memory in my school days can be repeated by me with greater ease than what I tried to memorise in subsequent years. As one grows old, one relies more on common sense than on memory. It gives an abundant confidence in one's self to be sure of one's knowledge and that can be achieved by fixing it in memory, rather than by possessing a hazy idea of having read something of the kind somewhere. This is especially true of Sanskrit and mathematics, in which one has to know the forms and formulae accurately. In Sanskrit the prosody makes the verses sonorous to the eastern ear and it is easy to commit Sanskrit verses to memory. I earnestly exhort every youngster to commit to memory at least one verse every day, in spite of whatever may be said against learning by heart. You all know how our holy Vedas, which are said to be *apauruṣeya* have been handed down in all their purity from generation to generation from time immemorial, by the system of *Samhitā*, *Pada*, *Krama*, *Jaṭā* and *Ghana*. I do not for a moment suggest that there is, in these days of printing, any necessity to learn the Vedas by rote in that manner. The tremendous amount of labour involved in becoming a *Ghanapāṭhi* hardly allowed the student of Vedas any time to study any other branch of knowledge. Hence we had specialists in Vedas, specialists in *Vyākaraṇa*, specialists in *Nyāya* and *Vedānta* and so forth. These specialists became masters in their own subject, but were otherwise good-for-nothing. Speaking of specialists I am reminded of the Guru and his three students. The tale is stale, but none-the-less worth repetition. Of the three students the first was a grammarian, the second was a student of literature and the third a student with general knowledge and common sense. The third was the favourite of the Guru. When a friend asked the Guru why he was so fond of the third, he said, "He is the most practical. If you want to test, go to all the three and say "*Bhaṭṭasya kaṭyāṁ karataḥ praviṣṭaḥ*." When the friend went to the three pupils and uttered the sentence, the grammarian saw that the sentence was grammatically faultless, was satisfied and remained quiet. The second student, who understood its meaning became upset and panic-stricken, and began to run about asking, "Where did you leave the Guru? How is he doing? What is the remedy?" The third student realised that it was all a joke and coolly said, "Why do you want to make a fool of us? How can a lizard enter the hip of our Guru. It is all absurd. The way in which the three students

behaved on hearing the same sentence was sufficient to account for the Guru's fondness for the student of common sense.

A somewhat similar charge is levelled against our Shastris who study Sanskrit in the old Shastric method. Those of us who started the study of Sanskrit with Bhandarkar's two books, *Kusumasaṅgraha* and Apte's guide are apt to consider the Shastric method crude and imperfect. The initial stages may seem crude, but those who study in that way have not got to hurry up and complete everything in a short time, as the university students have got to do. They take their own time, and perfect what they learn and commit most of the things to memory. They can quote off-hand passages learnt by them. Those who attended the last *Vidvat Pariṣad* in Poona must have been struck by the very high level at which the discussions were conducted in Sanskrit by the Pandits. On any point raised, they could quote chapter and verse without reference to books, and silence the opponent. It was simply a treat to listen to those discussions. But the modern tendency is to secure rapidity. Everyone is after finding out a means to reach the end quickly and easily. The result is that the standard of Sanskrit has considerably deteriorated, especially in the Matriculation students.

I realise that there is also another very strong reason for this deterioration. Sanskrit grammar being comparatively difficult, students taking Sanskrit had to study harder and yet secured less marks than students who took French, Persian or Ardhamagadhi. The University authorities got out of this disparity by lowering the standard of Sanskrit grammar for the Matriculation examination. The students need not know the formation of different grammatical forms of words, but it is enough if they can recognise the forms. This course had to be resorted to in order to check the students giving up Sanskrit and taking French, Persian or Ardhamagadhi. I would suggest that at least for those who aspire for Sanskrit scholarship a higher standard should be fixed and a different paper be set for such students. I am not an expert educationist, but coming as I do in contact with many average students, I have derived the impression that this rapid reading method leaves the students shallow, and justifies the "water-pot" theory which Principal Sharp of the Deccan College frequently used to apply to them. Like pots of water they carry their heads full to the examination hall, and return home empty, after pouring out the contents.

All this is really a digression. The moral of what I have said seems to have been present before the minds of those who have drawn up the curriculum of studies in this Bhavan. It is a harmonious combination of the old and the new, and the variety of the subjects taught leaves no room for apprehension that the students of the Bhavan may become blind specialists. But I am afraid this by itself will not be enough to attract students. I have no doubt that those who go successfully through the courses of the studies prescribed by the Bhavan will be great Pandits and will have the satisfaction of having gained mastery over the subjects taught. But what next? Dr. Savage, a great American educationist says :

"The most important thing of all for every young man at the outset, is that he should be so trained that, drop him wherever you will in the world, he can earn an honest living. That is the foundation, only. Yes. The foundation, however, is, in one way of looking at it, the most important part of any structure."

This is perfectly true. There may be a few who want proficiency in Sanskrit and seek knowledge for the sake of knowledge itself or as a help to pass their higher University examination like M.A. or Ph.D., but the common student wants education to help him in earning his bread. This is the reason why most of our Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās conducted by Shastris are starving for want of students. There is no outlet for them after they get out of the school. But this need not be the fate of the students who obtain diplomas from this institution, since the curriculum prescribed is comprehensive and in no way inferior to that of corresponding examinations in any University. What is needed is an official recognition of the diplomas granted by this Bhavan. Every effort should therefore be made to prevail upon the Government and the different Universities to recognise the diplomas of this Bhavan. If that recognition is forthcoming, the Bhavan is sure to be a most

popular forum of education, and in the very next year admission will have to be denied to many students for want of accommodation.

I am sorry I have delayed so long in offering my very hearty congratulations to the Bhavan on its splendid achievements during the past six years. These achievements have been very modestly described in the Annual Report for 1944-45. It shows that it has attained the position of an All-India institution. Bombay being a central place the Bhavan has the association of several *Pāṭhaśālās* and trusts and has opened several centres for its examinations outside Bombay. It is guided in its activities by a *Parāmarśa Samiti* consisting of eminent orientalists from all over India. The students going through the courses will not be mere Shastris of the old school but will have the advantage of various branches of knowledge which a modern educated person requires. Whether the diplomas of this Bhavan are recognised or not, they will be eminently suited to be employed as qualified Shastris in schools and colleges.

As stated in the report, one of the outstanding activities of the Bhavan in this year was the starting of courses of studies and examinations in the various Shastras. Scholars who wanted to study the Shastras had for want of such a centre, to go to Benares or Calcutta to get recognition. This long-standing want has been removed by this new activity of the Bhavan for which it deserves sincere congratulations. The All-India Indian Culture Essay Competitions held by the Bhavan are becoming increasingly popular. This year there were as many as 14 competitors hailing from distant places like Lahore, Mysore, Karachi and Etah.

Although the Bhavan may justly be proud of every one of its departments, the one that has appealed to me most is the new department of *Gītā Vidyālaya* which was started last year to popularise the study and research of the *Gītā* in particular, and Hindu religion and Culture in general. It is a good sign of the modern times that our young boys and girls are being attracted to the study of *Bhagavadgītā*. Before an audience like this it is superfluous to expatiate upon the greatness of the *Gītā*. It is the nector milked from the kine of all Upaniṣads. *Sarvopmiṣado gāvo dughdam gītāmytam mahat*. In the third volume of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* magazine, the Founder President of this Bhavan, Shriyut Munshi, has dealt with many aspects of the message of the *Gītā*, in his well-thought and well documented article—"Experiential Approach to the *Gītā*." Numerous other scholars have put forward their own interpretation on the purpose and teachings of the *Gītā* and they will be found collected by Dr. Dandekar in the "The Progress of Indic Studies" published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. But they are not all. Every time one re-reads the *Gītā*, something new appears to come out of it. It gives you a sort of inspiration. Munshiji has written another work on the *Gītā*, "Bhagavad *Gītā* and Modern Life" and we are eagerly waiting for its publication. To imbibe the essence of the *Gītā* one ought to know it by heart. This is now achieved in many places by starting *Gītā Pāṭha* competitions and giving away prizes to boys and girls who can recite prescribed *Adhyāyas* of the *Gītā*. In Poona I have seen hundreds of tiny boys and girls entering the competition on the *Gītā* Jayanti day and acquitting themselves very creditably. In this way the 1000 and odd stanzas of the *Gītā* are easily learnt by heart. I know that there are many who find fault with the method of cramming verses without knowing their meaning. Even as regards the Vedas, that are usually learnt by rote, the *Nirukta*, the oldest known work dealing with exegesis of the Vedas, condemns one who repeats them without knowing their meaning:—

Sthānūrayam bhārāḥ khīla cedadhūlya vedān na vijānāt yoratham.

This is all the more true of the study of the *Gītā*. But the learning of the text of the *Gītā* by heart is only a foundation and if such students get the opportunity of listening to the lectures such as are arranged by this Bhavan, they will easily follow and appreciate them. It is a matter for congratulation that for the benefit of advanced students of the *Gītā*, this Bhavan is arranging such high class lectures as those delivered by Mahamahopadhyaya Anantkrishna Shastri, Shriyut Munshiji himself, Pandit Satawalekar and Hindutva Deepak Mahadev Shastri Divekar. To supplement the excellent work carried on by this Bhavan in this Department, I do not see why in schools predominated by Hindus,

a few minutes should not be allotted every day to the reading of the Gītā before the school hours begin. In all missionary schools and Colleges the Bible is read and I know that several non-Christian students study the Bible there and even appear for examinations in the Bible and carry away prizes. If so, why should anyone raise any objection if in schools where a large majority of the students are Hindus, they spend a few minutes over the Gītā. It may be left optional to the students to attend at the time, but I think that it is time that a move should be made in some such direction.

The Bhavan is publishing Indological Research Journals in English, Hindi and Gujarati, but I think that in a place like Bombay we should have a Sanskrit weekly or at least a Sanskrit monthly magazine. We have at present a Sanskrit magazine at Belgaum called *Madhur Vāṇī*, but owing to various difficulties it is not able to make its appearance regularly. But with the resources at the disposal of this Bhavan, there should be no difficulty in conducting a regular high class magazine in Sanskrit. There is a demand for such a magazine and even for a weekly. In Ayodhya, Pandit Kaliprasad Shastri is ably editing a Sanskrit weekly called "*Saṃskṛtaṃ*" and I understand it has a wide circulation. All current topics are discussed in it in chaste Sanskrit and it is a pleasure to realize how fluently even modern political and scientific ideas can be expressed in simple Sanskrit. I do hope that such a weekly will soon be started by the Bhavan.

The head line appearing at the top of the first page of the weekly *Saṃskṛtaṃ* is interesting. It runs—"*Ayāmeva satābhyām Saṃskṛtamevā rāṣṭrabhāṣā bhaved ayāmeva Saṃskṛtasya uddeśah.*"

The goal of this weekly is to see that in this very century Sanskrit shall be the national language. A very laudable ambition indeed! We would all be proud if that is realized. But that apart, as a first step, let us at least encourage speaking in Sanskrit by holding frequent meetings for Sanskrit talks, debates and elocution competitions. This is being done in Poona, Belgaum and other places and as a result the number of those who can speak Sanskrit is steadily rising. In Poona the *Gīrvāna Vāgvardhinī Sabhā* has been doing this work for the last thirteen years, and even today at this very hour it is celebrating its 13th annual day under the presidentship of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. During the last year the Bhavan arranged for a very large number of lectures on various research problems by eminent scholars and several lectures on the Gītā were delivered in Sanskrit by Mm. Anantkrishna Shastri. They were more or less highly technical and they served their purpose very well. But in addition to such lectures, the laymen in Sanskrit should be given an opportunity to make speeches, though they may be broken Sanskrit and every encouragement should be given to them by arranging competitions in elocution. A debating society may be started and students of different Pathashalas, schools and colleges may be invited to join it. Inter-collegiate as well as All-India Sanskrit debates may be held and suitable prizes awarded. This will give a great fillip to speaking in Sanskrit and I hope a sufficient response will be forthcoming if a proper effort is made in this direction.

The Bhavan is already in possession of an enviable library of valuable books and a large museum of ancient manuscripts. The munificent donation of Babu Rajendra Singh has enabled the Bhavan to secure the Nahar Collection of Calcutta, consisting of 6,000 volumes, and Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni's personal collection of over 2,500 volumes. The Babu Bahadur Singhji Singh Library which is to be opened just now is such as any institution may justly be proud of. I congratulate Shriyut Munshi and his help-mates in securing such a fine collection and I hope that scholars will make full use of it in expanding their knowledge and imparting it to others.

The only deficiency from which the Bhavan is suffering is the lack of a home of its own. Its activities are spreading everyday and more and more space is required with the addition of every activity. Unless it has a building of its own, it cannot make suitable alterations as to provide accommodation for its library, lectures and classes. It is mentioned in the report that arrangements are being made for securing suitable accommodation for the Meghji Mathuradas College, which is being sponsored by this Bhavan; and I understand that the Andheri building will be used for the College, and that funds are being raised for acquiring a building in Bombay for housing the Bhavan. Let us hope that the next convocation of the Bhavan will be held in its own spacious building.

Finally, I have to congratulate the students who have won diplomas, medals and prizes, as well as those who having received their coaching in the Bhavan have secured their Ph.D. and M.A. of the Bombay University. It is creditable to the Bhavan that all the six students who were sent for the M.A. got through, one of them, Shri S. C. Bhatt, scoring the Bhagwandas Purushottamdas Scholarship, standing first among the M.A. candidates in Sanskrit and the other Shrimati Kalpalata Munshi, winning the Mankar scholarship, being the first among the lady candidates. For most students the real examination commences after they leave their scholastic career and settle down in life. It is then that even the most brilliant graduate realizes that success in life does not necessarily depend upon the brilliant achievements in school and college examinations, that education is only a foundation and that materials required to build a decent structure on it are industry, honesty, tact, foresight and sound commonsense. There is no reason why one with these qualities and a foundation of sound education should not rise to the top. No doubt luck has to play its own part to some extent but luck will not hold out long against one who possesses these materials and uses them with a strong will and determination. I hope that the students going out of this Bhavan are sufficiently well-equipped and will acquit themselves in life in such a manner that the Bhavan may feel proud of them.

Before resuming my seat I express on behalf of all of us our heartfelt gratitude to Shriyut and Shrimati Munshi for all they have been doing for the advancement of *Bhāratīya Vidyā* through the medium of this Bhavan.

The Bhavan's Annual Report for 1944-45†

We beg to submit the following report of the working of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for the period covering April 1944 to 30th June, 1945. The supplement to the report for 1943 has already covered the period up to April 1944.

2. Executive Committee.

The last Annual General Meeting of the Members of the Bhavan was held on 9th April, 1944. It announced the undermentioned Executive Committee in accordance with Rule No. 18, of the Rules and Regulations :

PRESIDENT

Shri Munshiji

VICE-PRESIDENT

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. V. Divatia, M. A., LL. B.

TREASURERS

Shri Vasantram Jamietram Vakil, B. A., LL. B., J. P.

Shri Chatrabhuj Gordhandas Sunderdas, J. P.

SECRETARIES

Shri Tricumdas Dwarkadas, B. A., LL. B.

Shri J. M. Shelat, M. A., Bar-at-Law.

MEMBERS

Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M. A., LL. B., Shri Munglal Goenka, Sir Chunilal B. Mehta, Kt., Rao Bahadur Chunilal H. Setalvad*, C. I. E., Bar-at-Law, Shri Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau, Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni, Shri Ramdeo Anandilal Podar, Shri Sangji Sunderji, Shri Charandas M. Toprani, B. A., Shri Chimanlal C. Shah, M. A., LL. B., Shri Thakoredas N. Merchant, M. A., LL. B., Shri Nanalal C. Mehta, B. A., (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, I. C. S. (Retd.).

The undermentioned gentlemen were coopted by the Executive Committee at its meeting held on 18th June, 1944, in accordance with Rule No. 19 of the Rules and Regulations.

(1) Shri Prabhashankar R. Bhatt, J. P., (2) Shri Lakshmi Nivasji Birla, (3) Shri Jugmohandas Kalyandas, and (4) Shri Prabodhchandra M. Roy, B.A., LL. B.

The Executive Committee met four times during the period under report.

* Shri Kantilal Thakore, B. A., LL. B., was coopted member in the vacancy caused by the passing away of Rao Bahadur Chunilal H. Setalvad.

† Presented by the Secretaries of the Bhavan at the Annual General Meeting held on 14th July.

3. Membership of the Bhavan.

During the year the Bhavan lost by death Babu Bahadur Singhji Singhi, one of its Founder Members and Rao Bahadur Chunilal H. Setalvad, another Founder Member and a member of our Executive Committee.

The undermentioned gentlemen were elected Honorary Members with full rights and privileges of the Members of the Bhavan at the Annual General Meeting of 9th April 1944.

Shri Charandas M. Toprani, B. A., Shri Motilal C. Setalvad, M. A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law Shri Gordhandas Sonawala and Shri Jagjivandas Dossabhai.

4. Constitutional Changes.

The constitution of the Bhavan was found, in the light of the experience of the past six years, to require some changes. A sub-committee consisting of Shri Munshiji, The Hon'ble Justice Sir H. V. Divatia, Sir C. B. Mehta and Shri Chimanlal C. Shah was set up last year to go into the matter and their recommendations are being placed before the general meeting.

5. Departments.

We give below the names of the staff working in the various departments of the Bhavan, during the year and their activities. Details of their works under print and preparation as also the list of the research papers prepared by them during the year are given on cover pages 3 & 4.

(i) Shri Munglal Goenka Samskrit Shikshapitha (Department of Samskrit and Comparative Philology).

Name	Remarks
(a) Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni	Hon. Director, General Editor, Singhi Jain Series, Editor भारतीय विद्या, Jt. Editor, Bharatiya Vidya Series, University Teacher for Ph. D. in Samskrit, Ardhamagadhi, and Comparative Philology, President Gujarat Historical Conference.
(b) Dr. A. D. Pusalker, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.	Assistant Director, Jt. Editor, <i>Bhāratiya Vidyā</i> and <i>Bhāratiya Vidyā</i> Series, Assistant Editor, Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti History of India, and University Teacher for M. A. in Samskrit.
(c) Prof. H. C. Bhayani, M. A.	Carries on research, the critical edition of Svayambhu's 'Paumacariu' being his major work.
(d) Shri P. C. Shah, M. A.	Lecturer, worked on the critical edition of 'Vijnana-bhikshu's Yogavarttika'. Joined as Lecturer in Samskrit at the M. T. B. College, Surat, June, 1945.

(ii) Shri Munglal Goenka Prakrit and Hindi Shikshapitha (Department of Prakritic Languages and Hindi)

(a) Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni.	Professor and Head of the Department.
(b) Shri Udaising Bhatnagar, M.A.	Research Fellow, Works on thesis, 'A critical edition of Padminicharita' for the Ph. D. degree.
(c) Shrimati Pratibha Trivedi, M. A.	Research Fellow, works on the critical edition of 'Tarangavaikahā of Bhadrashwara' for the Ph. D. degree.

(iii) Shri Narmad Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Shikshapitha (Department of Gujarati)

(a) Prof. Yashwant Shukla, M. A.	University Teacher for M. A. in Gujarati, Jt. Editor, Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Lilavati Munshi Professor of Modern Gujarati.
(b) Prof. H. C. Bhayani, M. A.	Narmad Professor of Old Gujarati.
(c) Shri Upendra Pandya, M. A.	Lecturer, worked mainly on the preparation of ગુજરાતી કવિની ગણતરી. Conducted informal M. A. classes in Gujarati. Joined as Professor of Gujarati, Dharmendrasinghji Arts College, Rajkot, in June, 1945.
(d) Shri Ramanlal G. Bhatt, B. A.	Research Fellow, worked on the 'Critical Edition of Yogashastra Balavabodha,' now submitted as thesis for the Ph. D. degree.

(iv) Department of Vedic and Shastric Studies

- (a) Acharya T. A. Venkateswara Head of the Department, University teacher for M. A. Dikshitar, *Ubhayamimamsapurvina*, in Samskrit and Local Secretary, Bengal Samskrit Association Examinations.
- (b) Pandit Madhavacharya, *Sarvatantrasvatanttra*. Conducts shastric classes.
- (c) Pandit G. V. Joshi, *Acharya*. Conducts Shastric classes, and informal lectures for M. A. students in Samskrit.
- (d) Pandit Gautamlal Dave, *Jyotishalamkara, Jyotisharatna*. Teaches Jyotish and other Shastras.
- (e) Pandit Gaitonde, *Acharya*. Part-time Shastri.
- (f) Pandit Giridhar Bhatt, *Acharya*. Part-time Shastri.
- (g) Pandit Revashankar Meghji. Part-time Shastri.
- (h) Shri Vaidyanath G. Mishra, *Acharya*. Carries on research for Mahacharya title of the Bhavan.

(v) Bhagavad Dharma Shikshapith

- (a) Prof. Durgashankar K. Shastri. Hon. Professor and Head of the Department, Vice-President, Gujarat Historical Conference.
- (b) Prof. S. D. Gyani, M. A. Works on 'Vayu Purana—A Study' for the Ph. D. degree.
- (c) Pandit Madhvacharya, *Sarvatantrasvatanttra*. Conducts classes in Anubhashya.
- (d) Pandit G. V. Joshi, *Acharya*. Conducts Bhagavad Gita classes.

(vi) Dharma Shastra Shikshapitha (Department of Dharma Shastra)

- (a) Prof. Jayantakrishna H. Dave, M.A., LL.B. Hon. Registrar and Asstt. Director of the Bhavan, Hon. Professor of Dharmashastra, President, Bombay Astrological Society, University teacher for M. A. in Samskrit, Jt. Editor, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*.
- (b) Dr. Ludwig Sternbach, LL. D., Ph. D. Hon. Professor, University teacher for M. A. in Ancient Indian Culture.

(vii) Shri Singhi Jain Shastra Shikshapitha (Department of Jain Studies)

- (a) Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni Head of the Department.
- (b) Pandit Sukhlalji Sanghavi Hon. Professor.
- (c) Prof. A. S. Gopani, M. A. University Teacher for M. A. in Ardhamagadhi, His thesis—'A critical edition of Durgadeva's Rishtasamuccaya' has been accepted for the award of the Ph. D. degree by the Bombay University.

(viii) Bharatiya Itihasa Shikshapitha (Department of Indian History)

- (a) Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. Hon. Professor, General Editor, Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti History of India.
- (b) Prof. S. D. Gyani, M. A. University teacher for M. A. in Ancient Indian Culture, Editor, भारतीय विद्या पत्रिका, works on thesis 'Vayu Purana—A Study.'
- (c) Dr. G. N. Saletore, M. A., Ph. D. Worked on 'Glory that was Gurjaradesh Part IV,' Resigned 1st June.
- (d) Mr. Banarsidas, M. A. Reader, working on the Glory that was Gurjaradesh, Sultanate and Mughal periods.

(ix) Shikshanshastra Shikshapitha (Department of Educational Studies)

- (a) Prof. K. S. Vakil, M. Ed., I.E.S. (Retd.), M. R. G. S. etc. Hon. Professor, University Teacher for M. Ed. and Ph. D. in Education.
- (b) Shri Namdeo T. Chawdhuri, B.A., B.T. Research Fellow.

(x) Department of Iranian Studies.

- Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, Ph. D., Bar-at-law. Hon. Professor, conducts weekly lectures on Comparative Grammar of Indo-Iranian Languages.

6. Bombay University Examination Results.

Ph. D.

Prof. A. S. 'Gopani's thesis—' A critical edition of Durgadeva's *Riṣṭasamuccaya* '—has been accepted by the University for the award of the Ph. D. degree in *Ardhamagadhi*.

Shri Ramanlal G. Bhatt has submitted his thesis for the Ph. D. in Gujarati—A critical edition of *Yogashastrabalavabodha*.

M. A.

All the six candidates who appeared from the Bhavan for the M. A. passed, five in second class and one in third class. Their names are given below. Shri Shankarlal C. Bhatt, won the Bhagwandas Purushottamdas Scholarship, standing first among the candidates for M. A. in Samskrit this year. Shrimati Kalpalata Munshi also won the Miss Sorkaribai Mankar Scholarship, being the first among the lady candidates.

Name of candidate		Class in which passed.
	<i>Sanskrit</i>	
Shri Shankarlal C. Bhatt (<i>Winner of the Bhagwandas Scholarship</i>)		II
Shrimati Kalpalata K. Munshi (<i>Winner of the Mankar Scholarship</i>)		II
Shri Navinchandra A. Doshi		II
	<i>Gujarati</i>	
Shri Jitendra A. Dave		II
Shri Bhupendra G. Upadhyaya		II
Shri Mahendra I. Pandya		III

7. Shastric Department.

(a) Our Examinations.

The starting of courses of studies and examinations in the various Shastras is one of our outstanding activities of the year. Scholars of this Presidency had for want of such a centre to go to Benares and Calcutta to get recognition. This new activity of the Bhavan meets this long felt want.

From this year onwards our Pathashala will be teaching students for the courses of the Bhavan only. Syllabuses for the Pravesika, Shastri, Acharya and Mahacharya examinations in the undermentioned subjects have been laid down: Veda, Vedanta, Sahitya, Vyakarana, Sankhya-Yoga, Nyaya-Vaisheshika, Purvamimamsa, Dharmashastra, Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Tantricism, Jaina-nyaya, Jyotisha, Jaina Agama, Arya-Sanskriti and Sarvadarshana. Vid and Visharad courses in Jyotish and the Gita have also been prescribed. The Visharad title is also awarded by thesis in the Gita, Dharma (Vaidika, Bauddha, Jaina etc.), Darshan (Vedanta, Nyaya, Sankhya, Mimamsa etc.), Kala (Chitra, Sthapatya etc.), Bhasha (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Modern Indian Languages etc.), Itihasa, Arthashastra, Samaja Shastra and Jyotisha. The Mahacharya course in which scholars who have already passed the highest examinations in the Shastras are trained in modern methods of scientific criticism is a unique feature of ours. The Vineet is an entrance examination for our regular courses. The syllabuses for these examinations are similar to those for other oriental examinations in the country with such improvements as have been found necessary in the light of experience and to suit present-day conditions. This January Gita Praves and Gita Vid examinations were conducted at three centres, at the Bhavan, the Navchetan High School, Ahmedabad and V. N. High School, Dharmej. Of the twenty-eight students who appeared for the Gita Vid and Gita Praves examinations twenty-two passed. Two candidates, Shri Vasant K. Dhonde. B. A. (Hons.) and Shri G. N. Chakravarty, M. A., were awarded the Visharad title by thesis.

(b) Our Pathashalas.

Last November, the Devidas Lallubhai Samskrit Pathashala was placed in charge of the Bhavan. We are coordinating the activities of this institution with those of the Mumbadevi Samskrit Pathashala, The Sheth Nagardas Rughnathdas Jyotish Shikshapith and the Shri Purushottamdas Thakkar Vedashala which are already departments of the Bhavan. Senior classes in the shastras are conducted at the Bhavan's premises, while beginners are taught at the Gulalwadi Pathashala where a branch of the Bhavan has been opened. We are also arranging evening classes in the Shastras and scholarships are offered to undergraduate and post-graduate students with a view to produce a set of scholars who combine in themselves shastric studies on the traditional lines with the critical methods of modern scholarship.

In order to inculcate in the rising generation a love of Samskrit, from this year we are conducting evening classes at the Bhavan on Matriculation Samskrit texts. We have from this June also instituted the system of day scholars, and are paying them stipends ranging from Rs. 3/- to Rs 35/- per mensem.

Both of our students who appeared for the examinations of the Bengal Sanskrit Association passed. Of the eleven students who appeared for the examinations of the Benares Government Sanskrit College, eight passed.

We had to reorganise the Pathashalas. The general conception of their being an asylum for poor Brahmin boys preparing for priesthood had to be replaced. By setting minimum standards for admission and the rigorous enforcement of examinations we are trying to pick out the very best students who are equipped and earnest for the study of the shastras. It is also proposed to appoint a committee to organise this department.

(c) The Jyotish Vidyapith.

It is one of the aims of the Bhavan to establish Hindu Astronomy and Astrology in their true scientific form by systematic research and teaching. Apart from the Bhavan's full time classes in the subject, we are also conducting adult classes on Sundays preparing students for the Bhavan's Jyotir Vid and Jyotir Visharad examinations. In this we are having the full cooperation of the Bombay Astrological society, which was affiliated to the Bhavan last year and is conducting its activities in the Bhavan since then. As a first step for research we are getting copied all the Nadi granthas in the Adyar Library and the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, such as Sukranādi, Satyasaṁhitā and Devakeralam and rare commentaries on Brihajātaka and Jaimini-sūtra. The Bhavan also proposes to publish a handy annual Nirayan Panchang based on modern mathematical calculations. One of its special features will be that it will give the geocentric position of all the planets every day.

8. The Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti History of India.

Negotiations are being carried on with well-known publishing houses for the simultaneous publication of the History in India, England and the U. S. A., in order to ensure wider publicity. It is proposed to publish the volumes in three sets, first (Ancient) comprising the first four volumes, second (Medieval) vols. 5-7 and last (Modern) vols. 8-10. As the volumes will be published in their serial order, it has been decided to concentrate at the moment on getting the press-copies of Vols. 1-4. Contributors were requested to submit press-copies of their chapters by the end of June, 1945, and the response has been encouraging. It is expected to begin the editing work in August, and take up printing by the end of the year. In this connection we acknowledge with gratitude the services rendered by Shri Shantilal Gujar, Bar-at-Law, the Hon. Secretary of the Samiti.

9. The All-India Indian Culture Essay Competitions.

These competitions are becoming increasingly popular. This year there were fourteen competitors as against last year's seven. The results are given below.

Name of the Competitor.

Title of the Essay.

GOLD MEDAL

Shri Vasant K. Donde
Prof. Kantilal B. Vyas, Bombay
Shri Jagmohanlal Mahajan, Lahore

Idealism and Materialism in Indian Philosophy.
Asoka—a Historical Study.
Circumstances leading to the annexation of the
Panjab.

SILVER MEDAL

Shri G. V. Pulsule, Poona
Shri Dharamjit Singhji, Lahore
Shri Kamtaprasad Jain, Aliganj (Etah)
Shri G. N. Chakravarty, Mysore
Shri N. M. Billimoria, Karachi
Dr. Vidwan Veeraraghavachar, Mysore

A New approach to Hinduism.
Aesthetic-Philosophic Basis of Indian Art.
History of Hindi Jain Literature.
Bhagawad Gita and Life.
Ancient Tribes of India
Vidyabhyase Sankhya Yoga Samanvaya.

The remaining three Gold medals were not awarded as the essays were not judged to be up to the mark.

We have also advertised medals worth Rs. 1050/- for the current year's competition and 31st August has been fixed as the last date for the submission of the essays.

10. The Bharatiya Sahitya Samiti.

On 18th February, at a meeting of scholars and litterateurs in the various modern Indian languages, including among others, Shri Munshiji, Acharya Jinavijayaji, Shri Mama Warerkar,

Prof. H. D. Velankar and Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, it was decided to organise the Bharatiya Sahitya Samiti to encourage the comparative study of Modern Indian languages and literatures and wherever possible to coordinate the literary activities in the said languages. The preparation of histories of the modern Indian languages as also comparative dictionaries in these languages, especially for technical terms, were suggested as activities which the Samiti might immediately take in hand. It was unanimously decided that the proposed Samiti should be organised as one of the activities of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. The plan of work of the Samiti is being chalked out.

11. The Munshi Literature Trust Fund.

Our President, Shri Munshiji, and Shrimati Lilavati Munshi have, this March, made a generous and substantial gift to the Bhavan subject to certain terms suggested by the Executive Committee. This donation consists of the rights in five English and thirtyone Gujarati works of Shri Munshiji and four Gujarati works of Shrimati Lilavati Munshi, details of which are given below and in addition a cash donation of Rs. 10,000/- for instituting the Tapibehn Medals for the annual All India Indian Culture Essay Competition; the cost of production of "The Glory that was Gurjaradesh" estimated to cost more than Rs. 15,000/-, The Munshi Granthasamgraha containing 800 volumes of Indological and Gujarati publications costing over Rs. 4,000/- and cash donations of Rs. 2,000/- for miscellaneous purposes. Shri Munshiji has further promised to bear the expenses of the Professorship of Gujarati for one and half years and to pay Rs. 2,000/- towards the translation of the Munshi Publications into various modern Indian languages. Properly exploited, the rights in the Munshi Publications are expected to yield the Bhavan an income of from Rs. 4,000/- to 5,000/- a year and further sums for cinema and dramatisation rights. Recently the cinema rights in one of the works have been agreed to be sold for Rs. 10,000/-. The Munshi Granthasamgraha is a welcome addition to our Library; the institution of the Tapibehn Medals puts our All-India Indian Culture Essay competitions on firm foundations and the Munshi chair helps to form the nucleus of the Bharatiya Sahitya Samiti as one of the activities of the Bhavan. Under the terms of the donation one chair of Gujarati will be named after Shrimati Lilavati Munshi and the annual Munshi Lectures will be a feature of the Bhavan's activities.

The Bhavan owes its conception, origin and development mainly to its Founder-President, Shri Munshiji. He is not only guiding all its major policies but taking the keenest interest even in the little details of its working. Shrimati Lilavati Munshi also, one of our Founder-members, is always eager to advance the cause of the Bhavan. This present of theirs is only one further tangible act of their affection which has helped this six-year old Bhavan to important achievements.

The works of Shri Munshiji

(૧) વેરની વસુલાત, (૨) ક્રોનો વાંકે ?, (૩) નવસિકાઓ, (૪) ગુજરાતનો નાથ, (૫) વાવાશેઠનું સ્વાતંત્ર્ય, (૬) પૃથિવીવલ્લભ, (૭) રાગધિરાજ, (૮) પુરંદરપરાજય, (૯) અવિભક્ત આત્મા, (૧૦) સ્વપ્નદ્રષ્ટા, (૧૧) તર્પણ, (૧૨) મે ખરાય જણુ, (૧૩) ભગવાન કૌટિલ્ય, (૧૪) કેટલાક લેખો ભાગ ૧-૨, (૧૫) ગુજરાતના ન્યોતિર્ધરો, (૧૬) આસાંકિત, (૧૭) કાકાની શશી, (૧૮) ધ્રુવસ્વામીનીદેવી, (૧૯) પુત્રસમોવડી, (૨૦) બ્રહ્મચર્યાશ્રમ, (૨૧) સ્નેહસંભ્રમ, (૨૨) શિશુ અને સખી, (૨૩) થોડાંક રસદર્શનો, (૨૪) લોપામુદ્રા ભાગ-૧, (વિશ્વરથ), (૨૫) લોપામુદ્રા ભાગ-૨ (ચંપર કન્યા), (૨૬) લોપામુદ્રા ભાગ-૩, (દેવે દીધેલી), (૨૭) નરસૈયો : ભક્ત હરિનો, (૨૮) આદિવચનો-ભાગ ૧, (૨૯) લોપામુદ્રા ભાગ-૪, (વિશ્વામિત્ર ઋષિ), (૩૦) પીડાગ્રસ્ત પ્રેક્ષિત, (૩૧) નર્મદ : અર્વાચીનોમાં આઘ, (૩૨) ગુજરાતની અસ્મિતા, (૩૩) જય સોમનાથ, (૩૪) અડધે રસ્તે, (૩૫) Akhand Hindustan, (૩૬) આદિવચનો ભાગ-૨, (૩૭) મારી પિતૃજાત્યદાર કહાણી, (૩૮) The Indian Deadlock, (૩૯) The Aryans of the West Coast, (૪૦) The Imperial Gurjaras, (૪૧) લોમહર્ષિણી, (૪૨) અખંડ હિન્દુસ્તાન (ગુ. ભાષાંતર), (૪૩) The Bhagavadgita and Modern Life, (જપાય છે), (૪૪) ભગવાન પરશુરામ (જપાય છે), (૪૫) કેટલીક વિભૂતિઓ (જપાય છે), (૪૬) ડૉ. મધુરિકા (જપાય છે).

શ્રી. લીલાવતી મુનશી રચિત કૃતિઓ

(૧) રેખાચિત્રો અને ખીજા લેખો, (૨) જીવનમાંથી જડેલી, (૩) કુમાર દેવી, (૪) રેખાચિત્રો : જૂનાં અને નવાં.

12. The Bhavan Library.

During the year our library has been substantially enlarged by the addition of about 10,000 volumes, and a large number of manuscripts. Thanks to the munificent donation of Rs. 50,000/- by Babu Rajendra Singh the Bhavan has got the famous Nahar collection of Calcutta consisting of about 6000 volumes. The sections on art and archaeology, especially, are unique and most comprehensive. The said donation by Babu Rajendra Singh also secured for us Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni's personal collection of over 2500 volumes containing almost all the printed works in Samskrit, Prakrit and English on Jain religion and culture. In recognition of Babu Rajendra Singh's generous gift the Indological section of the Bhavan's library will be named after Babu Bahadur Singhji Singhi, his late lamented father to whom the Bhavan is already much indebted. As part of the donation by our President Shri Munshiji and Shrimati Lilavati Munshi of the Munshi Literature Trust Fund, the Bhavan also got the Munshi Granthasamgraha consisting of over 800 volumes of indological and Gujarati works. Seven hundred volumes have also been added by purchase or through gifts.

The Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal Jhaveri Gujarati Library

Last year a committee under the chairmanship of our Vice-President, The Hon'ble Justice Sir H. V. Divatia, raised a fund of about Rs. 10,000/- for a library of Gujarati for the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad in commemoration of the seventy-fifth birthday of that veteran scholar, Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri. The list of books is now being finalised and it is hoped that this collection will shortly augment the present library of the Parishad. Under the terms of the agreement between the Parishad and the Bhavan the Parishad's library is housed here and the library of the Bhavan is open to the members of the Parishad and that of the Parishad to the Bhavan.

Manuscript Library and Museum.

In sacred memory of Babu Bahadur Singhji Singhi our Hon. Director, Acharya Jinavijayaji, also presented to the Bhavan his large and precious collection of manuscripts, on paper and palmleaf. Some of these are the oldest known in India and belong to the 9th century. A number of them are profusely illustrated and are written in gold and silver inks. He also presented his large collection of paintings, scrolls, documents, copperplates, coins and other works of cultural and historical importance acquired by him during his long and unbroken scholastic career. This forms the nucleus of the Bhavan's manuscript library and museum.

We are shortly to take up the cataloguing of our library on the up-to-date methods. Shelves worth over Rs. 10,000/- have been purchased to keep the new volumes and manuscripts. All these very welcome and necessary additions have brought to the forefront the lack of suitable premises as has never before been felt and unless we have a separate and permanent building for the library all arrangements have of necessity to be temporary and provisional.

13. The Gita Vidyalaya.

This new department was started in June 1944 to popularise the study of and research in the Gita in particular and Hindu religion and culture in general. The organisation of Gita Kendras, extension lectures by eminent scholars, part-time adult classes, examinations, essay competitions, publications and research in the Gita are at present some of its activities. Besides the Central Kendra at the Bhavan, Gita Kendras have been opened at (1) The Astika Samaj, Matunga, (2) the M. T. B. College, Surat, (3) V. N. High School, Dharmaj, (4) New High School, Gamdevi, (5) Navchetan High School, Ahmedabad, (6) Prajna Pathashala, Wai, (7) Ardhmagadhi Vidyalaya and (8) the Manohar Samskrit Vidyalaya, Ahmedabad, (9) Manekbai Samskrit and Vedic Pathashala, Porbunder, and (10) Raghunath Vidyalaya, Porbunder. Our Acharya T. A. Venkateswara Dikshitar is also conducting the Matunga Gita Kendra classes in Tamil. Shri Munshiji, when at Madras this April, helped in the organisation of the Madras Gita Samiti under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandrashekhara Iyer.

Prominent among the Gita lectures delivered during the year at the Bhavan were four series, in all thirty lectures, by Shri Munshiji, Mahamahopadhaya Anantakrishna Shastri, Pandit

Satavalekar and Hindutvadeepak Mahadeo Shastri Divekar, in English, Samskrit, Hindi and Marathi respectively. Mm. Anantakrishna Shastri's lectures "भगवद्गीता भारतीय दर्शनानि च" have since been published by the Bhavan in book form. Shri Munshiji's lectures, "Bhagavad Gita and Modern Life" are also under print and expected to be published in a month. The Bhavan has also published a pocket edition of selected verses from the Gītā.

This January Gita Pravesh and Gita Vid examinations were conducted at three centres, at the Bhavan, the Navchetan High School, Ahmedabad, and V. N. High School, Dharmaj. Of the twenty-eight students who appeared for the Gita Vid and Gita Pravesh Examinations twenty-two passed.

Numerous organisations are doing solid work for the study and propagation of the Gita in various parts of the country. Our Gita Vidyalyaya extends its help and cooperation to every such institution in the achievement of our common goal.

14. Publications.

(a) Journals.

Our six-monthly *Bhāratiya Vidyā* was during the year converted into a monthly. So far seven issues of this monthly have been published. We also brought out the *Bhāratiya Vidyā Miscellany*, which was originally being printed as '*Bhāratiya Vidyā* Volume V. 'भारतीय विद्या Hindi Gujarati Miscellany which was originally being printed as भारतीय विद्या Vol. III has also been published. The monthlies 'भारतीय विद्या पत्रिका' and 'गुजराती साहित्य परिषद् पत्रिका' are being published regularly. We have applied for permission to start a new Hindi monthly of about 24 pages.

(b) Books.

The following were published during the year :

Bhāratiya Vidyā Memoirs :

The Glory that was Gujaradesh, Part III, by Shri Munshiji.

Bhāratiya Vidyā Series :

चन्द्रलेखासूक्त, of Rudradasa, edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye.

गुजराती स्वरव्यञ्जन प्रक्रिया Gujarati translation by Prof. K. K. Shastri of Prof. Turner's 'Gujarati Phonology'.

वेदवाद्वित्रिशका of Siddhasenadivakara, edited by Pandit Sukhlalji.

Bhāratiya Vidyā Studies :

Prakrit Languages and their contribution to Indian Culture by Dr. S. M. Katre.

Bhāratiya Vidyā Hindi Granthamala :

'भारतीय संस्कृति' by Prof. S. D. Gyani.

Singhi Jain Granthamala :

Dharmakhyāna of Haribhadrasuri edited by Acharya Jinavijayaji.

रिष्टसमुच्चय, of Durgadeva, edited by Prof. A. S. Gopani.

Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Publications :

'गुजराती साहित्य परिषद् १४ मुं अविवेशन अह्मेवाव अने निष्पत्तिग्रन्थ'.

'कव्य-विचार', translation by Shri Nagindas Parikh of Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta's book of the same name.

Munshi Sahitya

'लोभलक्ष्मी' A novel of Vedic times by Shri Munshiji.

'अभ्युदय' part of the work is a translation by Shri Chandrashanker Shukla of Shri Munshiji's work in English of the same name.

'नवलिङ्ग' by Shri Munshiji.

The Indian Deadlock by Shri Munshiji.

We are negotiating with publishers in Allahabad and Madras for publishing translations of the Munshi literature in the different languages of the country.

Educational Publications.

National Education for India by Prof. K. S. Vakil.

Special mention must be made here of the "Glory that was Gurjaradesh, Part II—Gujarat in the Magadhan and Classical Ages and Part IV—Life and culture under the Solankis," are under preparation. It is now decided to bring this history up-to-date by further volumes—Volume V, *Epigraphic sources of Gujarati History* and Volume VI—*Gujarat under the Sultanate* and Volume VII—*Gujarat under the Mughals*. Other volumes also are being planned to bring the series up-to-date.

15. Extension Lectures.

Sixty lectures on various research problems were delivered by eminent scholars from different parts of the country during this period.

16. Megji Mathuradas College.

Arrangements are being made for securing suitable accommodation for the college. When this is achieved we shall proceed with the further details for its establishment.

17. Sahitya Sansad Kala Kendra.

The Kalakendra activities of the Sahitya Sansad, an institution affiliated to the Bhavan, of classes in music and embroidery in leather and other materials is being conducted at the Bhavan from this June, by a committee of the Sansad of which Shrimati Lilavati Munshi is the Chairman. It is hoped that the Kendra will in course of time be equipped to conduct research in higher music.

18. Donors.

We acknowledge with thanks donations from the undermentioned institutions and individuals during the year.

(1) Seth Munglal Goenka Samskrit Trust, (2) Gordhandas Soonderdas Charities, (3) Mumbadevi Temple Trust, (4) Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, (5) Mahalakshmi Temple Charities, (6) Mulji Govindji Trust, (7) Tulsidas Gopalji Charitable and Dhakleshwar Temple Trust, (8) Jamnadas Ramdas Dosa Trust, (9) Kesaribai Charity Trust, (10) Parpea Pradhan Charities, (11) The Government of Bombay, (12) Shri Munshiji and Shrimati Lilavati Munshi, (13) Babu Rajendra Singh, (14) Babu Narendra Singh, (15) The Parsi Innominate Trust, (16) Bhaidas Sakhidas Charity Trust, (17) Shri Dalmia Jain Trust, (18) Akhila Bharatiya Arya Hindu Dharma Seva Sangha, (19) The Harjivan Vissonji Charitable Trust, (20) Shri Jayashanker Gaurishanker, (21) Shri Dharamdas Hargovindas, (22) Sir Chunilal B. Mehta, (23) Shri Vasantram Jamietram, (24) Shri Shriyansprasad Jain, (25) Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau, (26) Shri Motilal Tapuriach, (27) Shri Mathuradas Vissonji, (28) The Maharaja Saheb of Lunawada and (29) Shri Shrigopalji Nevatia.

19. Conclusion.

We may look back to the year's activities with some satisfaction. We have now collected a splendid research library for our activities, the volumes of the 'Glory that was Gurjaradesh' are important contributions, while the History of India work will be monumental. The Singhi Jain Series is, thanks to the indefatigable energy and enthusiasm of Acharya Jinavijayaji, now established as one of the most important contributions in the field of Jain religion and culture. Our Shastric examinations have great potentialities. These are only some of the most outstanding activities during the year. We have still to add further fields of activities and put on a permanent basis those that we have taken in hand. The absence of suitable and permanent accommodation for the various activities of the Bhavan is at present one of our greatest handicaps.

We take this opportunity of expressing our thanks to our colleagues on the Executive Committee and all those who have helped the Bhavan in a variety of ways. Prof. Jayantakrishna H. Dave has at great personal inconvenience and sacrifice discharged his onerous duties as Registrar and Professor of Dharmashastra in a purely honorary capacity. To him our thanks are specially due.

Bombay,
14th July, 1945.

TRICUMDAS DWARAKADAS
J. M. SHELAT

Secretaries.

JAIN VIEW OF KARMA

By Dr. B. C. LAW

In Jainism karma may be worked off by austerity, service rendered to ascetics, or to the poor, the helpless and the suffering by giving them food, water, shelter or clothing. Karma does not mean a deed or some invisible mystical force. It is nothing but a complexity of a very subtle matter which is super-sensuous and which pervades the whole world. The word karma is derived from the verb *Kṛ* meaning to do. The Jains believe it to be the result of actions arising out of four sources : (1) the first source of karma is attachment to worldly things such as food, raiment, dwelling place, women, etc., (2) karma is produced by uniting one's body, mind and speech to worldly things, (3) karma is engendered by giving the rein to anger, pride, deceit or greed, and (4) lastly false belief is a fruitful source of karma. In Hinduism we find that God inflicts punishment for evil karma whereas in Jainism karma accumulates energy and automatically works it off without any outside intervention. The Hindus think of karma as formless while the Jains think of it as having form. The Jains divide karma according to its nature, duration, essence and content. Karma is intimately bound up with the soul. According to the Jains there are eight kinds of karma : the first kind hides knowledge from us (*jñānāvaraṇīya karma*), the second kind prevents us from beholding the true faith (*darśanāvaraṇīya*), the third kind causes us to experience either the sweetness of happiness or the bitterness of misery (*vedanīya karma*), the fourth kind which is known as the *Mohanīya karma* bemuses all the human faculties. It results from worldly attachments and indulgence of the passions. The fifth kind determines the length of time which a *jīva* must spend in the form with which his karma has endowed him (*āyū karma*), the sixth karma known as *nāma karma* decides which of the four states or conditions shall be our particular *gati*. There are many divisions of *nāma karma*. The seventh kind is *gotra karma*. It is the gotra or the caste which determines a man's life, his occupation, the locality in which he may live, his marriage, his religious observances and even his food. There are two chief divisions of this karma. It decides whether a living being shall be born in a high or in a low caste family. The last and the eighth kind is the *antarāya karma*, the karma which always stands as an obstacle, e.g., *lābhāntarāya*, *bhogāntarāya*, *upabhogāntarāya* and *viryāntarāya*.¹

The Jains hold that the soul while on the first step (*mithyātvagunasthānaka*) is completely under the influence of karma and knows nothing of the truth. The soul whirling round and round in the cycle of rebirth loses some of its crudeness and attains to the state which enables it to distinguish between what is false and what is true. A soul remains in an uncertain condition, one moment knowing the truth and the next doubting it. A man has either through the influence of his past good deeds or by the teachings of his *guru* obtained true faith. He then realises the great importance of conduct and can take the twelve vows. The Jains believe that as soon as a man reaches the state of an *Ayogikevalīgunasthānaka*, all his karma is purged away and he proceeds at once to *mokṣa* as a *siddha*.

According to the Pālī Nikāyas an ancient householder teacher of India was the first expounder of the doctrine of action.² The Jaina *Sūtrakīlāṅga* speaks of various types of *kriyāvāda* then current in India (J. 6. 27 : I. 10. 17). Buddhism was promulgated as a form of *kriyāvāda* or *karmavāda*. According to Mahāvīra *kriyāvāda* of Jainism is shortly distinguished from *akriyāvāda* (doctrine of non-action), *ajñānavāda* (scepticism) and *vinayavāda* (formalism), precisely as in the word of the Buddha. *Kriyāvāda* of Buddhism is distinguished from *Sathāyadṛṣṭi* involving various types of *akriyā*, *vicikitsā* (scepticism)

¹ Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 183.

² *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 483.

and *śīlavrata-parāmarśa* (*śīlabbataparāmāsa*, formalism).³ To arrive at a correct understanding of the doctrinal significance of *kriyāvāda* of Jainism it is necessary not only to see how it has been distinguished from *akriyāvāda*, *ajñānavāda* and *vinayavāda* but also from other types of *kriyāvāda*.

According to the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* the types of *akriyāvāda* are as follows :—

(1) On the dissolution of the five elements, e.g., earth, water, fire, wind and air, living beings cease to exist. On the dissolution of the body the individual ceases to be. Everybody has an individual soul. The soul exists as long as the body exists.

(2) When a man acts or causes another to act, it is not his soul which acts or causes to act.⁴

(3) There are five elements and the soul is a sixth substance. These six substances are imperishable.

(4) Pleasure, pain, and final beatitude are not caused by the souls themselves, but the individual souls experience them.

(5) The world has been created or is governed by the gods. It is produced from chaos.⁵

(6) The world is boundless and eternal.

All these views are reduced to four main types that correspond to those associated in the Pali Nikāyas with four leading thinkers of the time, e.g. atheism like that of Ajita, eternalism like that of Kātyāyana, absolutism like that of Kāśyapa and fatalism like that of Gośāla.

The *ātman* is a living individual, a biological entity. The whole self does not outlast the destruction of the body. With the body ends life. No soul exists apart from the body. The five substances with the soul as the sixth are not created directly or indirectly. They are without beginning and end. They are independent of a directing cause. They are eternal. From nothing comes nothing. All things have the *ātman*, self or ego for their cause and object, they are produced by the self, they are manifested by the self, they are intimately connected with the self, and they are bound up in the self. One man admits action, and another man does not admit action. Both men are alike, their case is the same because they are actuated by the same force i.e., by fate. It is their destiny that all beings come to have a body to undergo the vicissitudes of life and to experience pleasure and pain. Each of these types stands as an example of *akriyāvāda*, inasmuch as it fails to inspire moral and pious action, or to make an individual responsible for an action or to make an individual responsible for an action and its consequences.⁶

According to the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* the inefficiency of knowledge is the real upshot of *ajñānavāda*. In the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* the upholders of *ajñānavāda* are represented as those thinkers who pretending to be clever reason incoherently and do not get beyond the confusion of their ideas.⁷ The *Vinayavāda* may be supposed to have been the same doctrine as *śīlabbataparāmāsa* in Buddhism. The *Śīlabbataparāmāsa* is a view of those who hold that the purity of oneself may be reached through the observance of certain moral precepts or by means of keeping certain prescribed vows. The upholders of *vinayavāda* assert that the goal of religious life is realised by confirmation to the rules of discipline.⁸

The types of *Kriyāvāda* that do not come up to the standard of Jainism are the following :—

(1) The soul of a man who is pure will become free from bad karma on reaching beatitude but in that state it will again become defiled through pleasant excitement or hatred.

(2) If a man with the intention of killing a body hurts a gourd mistaking it for a baby, he will be guilty of murder. If a man with the intention of roasting a gourd roasts

³ *Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 5; Cf. *Suttanipāta*, verse 231.

⁴ Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1.1.13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 1.3.5-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 12.2.

⁷ Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, II, I, 5-54.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 12.4.

a baby, mistaking him for a gourd, he will not be guilty of murder. According to Mahāvīra the painful condition of the self is brought about by one's own action, and not by any other cause. Pleasure and pain are brought about by one's own action. Individually a man is born, individually he dies, individually he falls and individually he rises. His passions, consciousness, intellect, perceptions, and impressions belong to the individual exclusively. All living beings owe their present form of existences to their own karma. The sinners cannot annihilate works by new works, the pious annihilate their works by abstention from works.⁹ The Jaina doctrine of nine terms (*navatattva*) developed from the necessity for a systematic exposition of *kriyāvāda* which is in its essential feature only a theory of soul and karma. Karma consists of acts, intentional and unintentional, that produce effects on the nature of soul. It must be admitted that soul is susceptible to the influences of karma. The categories of merit and demerit comprehend all acts, pious and sinful, which keep the soul bound to the circle of births and deaths. *Nirjarā*¹⁰ consists in the wearing out of accumulated effects of karma on the soul by the practice of austerities.

In short Mahāvīra's great message to mankind is that birth is nothing, that caste is nothing, and that karma is everything, and on the destruction of karma the future happiness depends. Karma is the deed of the soul. It is a material forming a subtle bond of extremely refined karmic matter which keeps the soul confined to its place of origin, or the natural abode of full knowledge and everlasting peace. There are four kinds of destructive karma (*khāṭiyakarma*) which retain the soul in mundane existence. They are as follows : (1) knowledge-obscuring karma, (2) faith-obscuring karma, (3) karma which obstructs the progress of the soul, and (4) karma which deludes the soul.¹¹ Karma plays an important part in Jain metaphysics. Jainism as a practical religion teaches us to purge ourselves of impurities arising from karma.

⁹ Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 12.15.

¹⁰ Cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XXVIII, 11.

¹¹ B. C. Law, *Mahāvīra : His Life and Teachings*, p. 104.

MISCELLANY

MEHRAULI IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CANDRA

By Prof. D. R. MANKAD

I wish to discuss one or two points about this inscription here. The last half of the first verse is this :

तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता वह्निका
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिर्लैर्दक्षिणः ॥

The first line says that the king had conquered the Vāhlikas, after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus. Vāhlikas are usually located by the scholars in the Punjab ; but I think Aiyangar is nearer the truth when he locates it in Sindh (*Ancient India*, Vol. I, p. 195). Direction of the march is evidently from the east to the west. If one crosses the seven mouths of the Indus from the east and goes to the west, he is bound to reach the south-western limit of modern Sind. It is absurd to say that the king went to the Punjab after crossing the mouths of the Indus. That the Indus was known to have seven mouths is shown by Periplus (§ 38) who actually mentions the seven mouths of the Indus. In this connection, I suggest that Candra of this inscription must have crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and defeated the Vāhlikas in the region of the modern Las Bela State, just on the western border of Sind, skirted on the south by the Arabian Sea. This would appear to be the case because even now there exists a place (a mud volcano) which is named 'Candragup', on the southern border of Las Bela State. Sir Aurel Stein locates this place at 66°. 25'5" (See 'An Archæological Tour in Las Bela' by Sir Aurel Stein in the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. CII, Nos. 5-6, Nov.-Dec. 1943). If this name is derived from the name of Candragupta, we should take it that Candragupta of this inscription (he cannot be Candrarvarman in that case) must have defeated the Vāhlikas somewhere near this place and established a town after his name. The name, it seems, has been, now, transferred to a mud volcano.

The last line of this verse says that even now the southern ocean bears the stamp of his prowess. Usually, it is the Indian ocean which is understood by the southern ocean ; but I suggest that in this verse the southern ocean should refer to the Arabian Sea. When the Aryan lived in the Punjab, it must have been the Arabian Sea which was on their south. And, the designation must have remained current in traditions long after the Aryans expanded to the Deccan and the South. Any way, here, the southern sea seems to be the Arabian Sea (to the south of Sind and Baluchistan) because, contextually, Vāhlikas, in this verse, seem to be located on the southern sea, which would, in the light of the above identification of Vāhlikas, be the Arabian Sea.

In this connection, I must point out that we should not take Eastern and Western oceans in pūrvāparau toyanidhī (*Kumāra* I, 1) to be the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Himālayas never touch, as they are here described to do, the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. I, therefore, suggest that here *toyanidhī* should mean 'rivers' and should refer to the Indus (the western river) and the Brahmaputrā (the eastern river). The earlier traditional 'four oceans' (*caturudadhī*) would refer to the Indus (the western), the Arabian Sea (the Southern), the Ganges or the Brahmaputrā (the eastern) and probably the Oxus (the northern). Thus also the Arabian Sea will be the southern ocean.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN COSMETICS AND PERFUMERY—THE CAMPAKA OIL AND ITS MANUFACTURE (BETWEEN A.D. 500 AND 1850)

By Prof. P. K. GODE.

Recently I discovered two rare MSS. of two treatises on *Gandha-Śāstra* (Cosmetics & Perfumery) called (1) the *Gandhasāra* of Gaṅgādhara and (2) *Gandhavāda* with Marathi commentary. I have prepared two papers on these MSS. giving their critical analysis, which shows that these treatises were composed sometime between A.D. 1300 and 1600. We can definitely assign the *Gandhavāda* and its Marathi commentary to the period—A.D. 1300-1550 but the chronology of the *Gandhasāra* of Gaṅgādhara cannot be definitely assigned to any period, though its contents are analogous to those of the *Gandhavāda*. Unfortunately none of these treatises quotes any works or their authors. I have reason to believe that these treatises are based on earlier treatises on *Gandha-Śāstra* as I have observed in my two papers under reference.

For an accurate history of Indian Cosmetics and Perfumery we must study the references to these preparations separately and reconstruct the history of each preparation from the technical and non-technical literature. I shall illustrate this method by recording in this paper some evidence about the antiquity of the fragrant oil and other preparations in which the *Campaka*¹ flower and its perfume were made use of by our ancestors. Such a study will possess both historical and cultural importance especially with reference to the refined taste of those who manufactured these preparations for the use of cultured ladies and gentlemen of antiquity.

The use of fragrant oil is referred to in the following *Subhāṣitās*² in connection with the practice of *abhyāṅga* (i.e. smearing the body with oil or unguents) adopted by Indian ladies :—

“ अस्याः पीठोपविष्टाया अभ्यङ्गं वितनोत्यसौ ।

लसच्छ्रेणि चलद्वेणि नटहूरुपयोधरम् ॥ २७ ॥

आवर्त्य कण्ठं सिचयेन सम्यगाबद्धय वक्षोऽरुक्मभ्युगमम् ।

कासौ करालम्बिततैलपात्रा मन्दं समासीदति सुन्दरीं ताम् ॥ २८ ॥

वक्षोजौ निबिडं निरुद्धय सिचयेनाकुञ्चय मध्यं शनैः

कृत्वा चम्पकतैलसेकमबला संपीड्य मन्दं शिरः ।

पाणिभ्यां चलकङ्कणोद्यतक्षणत्कारोत्तराभ्यां करो-

त्यभ्यङ्गं परिपश्यतः सकुतुकं दोरन्तरं प्रेयसः ॥ २९ ॥

Here we find the use of *Campaka* oil by ladies in their *abhyāṅga*. Sanskrit anthologies³ contain many *anyoktis* on the *Campaka* tree and its fragrant flower, which show the popu-

¹ Vide p. 7 of *Flowering Plants of Western India* by A. K. Nairne, London 1894.—“*Michelia Champaca*—A fine tree with long, oval, pointed, waved leaves, shining above; sepals and petals 15 to 20, flowers yellow, rosy, fragrant; carpels roundish, oval sessile, many together at the end of a swollen stalk. *Pila Champā, Champaka*.

Commonly cultivated. The flowers are used by women to ornament their hair, and are offered in temples.

“The *champak* odours fail

Like sweet thoughts in a dream”—*Shelly*.

“The pale yellow flowers have the sweet oppressive perfume which is celebrated in the poetry of the Hindus. From the wood of the *champak* the images of Buddha are carved for the temples—*Tennant's Ceylon*.”

² Vide p. 270 of *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1911.

³ Ibid. pp. 249-250—Verses 64-71. The *Padyavareṇi* of Venidatta. Composed in A.D. 1644 contains 2 verses on *Campaka* (Verse 668 by Rudra and 669 by Bindu Kavi)—Pages 190-191 of the Edition of the *Padyavareṇi* by J. B. Chaudhuri, 1944, Calcutta (*Prācyaṇi Sanskrit Series*, Vol. I).

larity of the flower in the ancient Indian plant lore. This flower had lent its aroma to Indian life and literature through centuries.⁴

The *Gandhasāra* of Gaṅgādhara contains the following references to *Campaka* :
Folio 5 (B. O. R. Institute MS).—

चंपकगंधसमानो मिलितैरेभिर्भवेद्गंधः ।

भ्रमरस्येकोभागो द्वौ भागौ चैव कान्तायाः ॥ ९ ॥ ”

Folio 8—

“ जघनरेणुकांता शुगदनतपत्रादनुजन्त्याभिः ॥

भूतयुनाभीरौदे पक्वं तैलं तु चंपकामोदं ॥ २३ ॥

* मज्जिष्ठया व्याघ्रनखेण शुक्तया—

सकासकुष्ठेन रसेन चूर्णं— ।

तैलेन युक्तोऽर्कमयूषतस्तः

करोति तच्चंपकगंधतैलं ॥ २४ ॥

Folio 10—

* “ त्वक्कुष्ठरेणुनालिकास्पृक्षारसतगरवालकैस्तुल्यैः ।

केसरपत्रविमिश्रैर्नरपतियोग्यं शिरःस्नानं ॥

⁴ In the description of गन्धमादन forest described in the *Āraṇyakaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (Critical Edition, B. O. R. Institute, 3. 155. 44) we find a reference to *Campaka* trees :—

“ तथैव चम्पकाशोकान् केतकान् बकुलास्तथा ॥ ४४ ॥ ”

Other trees mentioned in this description are :—

आम्र, आम्रातक, नारिकेल, तिन्दुक, अजातक, जीर, दाडिम, बीजपूर, पनस, लिंकुच, मोच, खर्जूर, आम्रवेतस, पारावत, क्षौद्र, नीप, बिल्व, कपित्थ, जम्बू, काश्मरी, बदरी, प्लक्ष, उदुम्बर, वट, अश्वत्थ, भल्लातक, आमलक, हरीतक, विभीतक, इङ्गुद, करवीर, अशोक, केतक, बकुल, पुनाग, सप्तपर्ण, कर्णिकार, पाटल, कुटज, मन्दार, इन्दीवर, पारिजात, कोविदार, देवदारु, शाल, ताल, तमाल, प्रियाल, शाल्मली, किंशुक, शिशपा, तरल, कुमुद, पुण्डरीक, कोकनदोत्पल, कल्हार, कमल, तिलक, सहकार (and its मञ्जरी), The description also contains names of beasts and birds of this forest such as गज, सिंह, व्याघ्र and शिखण्डिन्, कोकिल, शारिका, चकोर, राजहंस, सारस, etc. Mineral products are also mentioned : हरिताल, हिङ्गुलक, मनःशिला, etc.

Regarding the antiquity of some of the plants mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* reference is invited to the article on *Vedic Plants* by Dr. G. P. Majumdar in *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, pp. 645-668. Plants have proved friends of men from the remotest antiquity and Dr. Majumdar's studies of Indian plants are bound to enhance our respect for these friends when we know their historical and cultural perspective.

* The *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira contains a chapter (No. 77) on *Gandhayukti* (37 Verses)—pp. 386-389 of the Calcutta (1865) Edition. Verses 5 and 6 of this chapter read as follows :—

“ त्वक्कुष्ठरेणुनालिका—

स्पृक्षारसतगरवालकैस्तुल्यैः ।

केसरपत्रविमिश्रै—

नरपतियोग्यं शिरःस्नानम् ॥ ५ ॥

मज्जिष्ठया व्याघ्रनखेन शुक्तया

त्वचा सकुष्ठेन रसेन चूर्णः ।

तैलेन युक्तोऽर्कमयूषतस्तः

करोति तच्चम्पकगन्धितैलम् ॥ ६ ॥ ”

Evidently *Gandhasāra* has borrowed these verses from the *Bṛhatsamhitā* without mention. The author of the *Gandhasāra* bows to his predecessors (गंधागमज्ञान् i.e. experts in गंधागम) in verse 3 at the beginning of his work :—

“ गंधागमज्ञाश्च भित्तैर्वचोभिर्वक्ष्ये ससारं शुभगंधसारं ”

घनोत्पलदलं चोरसूक्ष्मैलानखमिश्रितं ।

चंपकामोदगंधश्च स्नानमात्रान्न संशयः ॥

Folio 18—

“चंपककुसुमं विष्टुष्टं राशौ धान्यस्य संद्रवति ।

टंकणसैधवयवजैः केतकेण च शंखचूर्णयुक्तेन ॥”

Folio 20—

“यति पमराजल कमलजलगुरुलता तेजिनी नली गोपाः ।

चंपकपुत्रीशेखर गिरिलक्ष्मीनलदसुतफलीतगराः ॥ ३६ ॥”

Folio 22—

“चंपक कांचनोरम्यो दीर्घश्च सुकुमारकः ।

भृंगातिथिः स्वर्णपुष्पाः कठिनश्च ॥ चंपकः ॥”

The *Gandharvāda* contains the following references to *Campaka* :—

Folio 28—

“दवणा मरु ब्रह्मी च सेलारसपृथक्चतुः ।

कर्चुरः चंपकलिका पृथक्द्विदशभागिकं ॥”

(Comm. “चांपेकलि पलं १२ ॥)

“चंपकं द्विदशवर्तद्विपुन्नागपत्रजा ”

(Comm. “चंपा भाग २ ॥)

Folio 29—

“बोलश्रीजलदं उरीरकलिका चंपापुनात्वचा ”

(Comm. “चांपा पल १, पुनावा पल १ ”)

Folio 30-31—

“लवंगचंपानवनवदीजे वल्लगालितफुलाचावासु ॥ राजपुरुषको करोबिलासु ”

(Comm. “चापा टांक ९ ”)

“मुस्तागरुचंपकमारुतं ”

(Comm. “चांपेकलि पल १० ”)

Folio 35—

“चंपाफुल टांक १ ”, “चांपेकली सेर १० ”

Folio 36—

“चांपेफुल सेर ३ ”, “चांपेकली टांक ९ ”

“चांपा सेर १० ”, “चांपा टांक ९ ”, “चांपा टांक ३ ”

Folio 37—

“चांपा टांक ४ ”, “चांपा टांक ९ ”—“इति सुगंधतैलं ”

Folio 39—

“चंपेकली पल १ ”

Folio 41—

“पलं चत्वारि चांपेलतैल काष्ठं वसुपलं ”

(Comm. “चांपेल पल ४ ”)

Folio 43—

“चांपा सेर १० ”, “चांपेल सेर १० ”

Folio 45—

“चांपेल चोखट सेर १० ”, “मेणराठी टांक १ चांपेलातु धालिजे ”, “चांपेल टांक १२ ”, “चांपेकली सेर १० ”

Folio 48—

“चांपेफुल सेर १२ ”

It appears from the above references that the *Campaka* exercised a dominating influence on the manufacture of cosmetics and perfumery in several forms such as perfumed oils, powders, incense etc. Accordingly we find in the two treatises on *Gandha-Sāstra* the following materials used in this manufacture :—

(1) चंपकलिका—Flower buds of *Campaka* used in certain proportions. These are called चांपेकलि in Marathi.

(2) चंपककुसुम (चंपाफुल or चांपे फुल in Marathi) These are full-blown *Campaka* flowers as contrasted with the buds.

(3) चंपकगंधितैल or चांपेल तैल (चांपेल in Marathi) This was oil of *Campaka*. It was mixed up with other ingredients for the manufacture of scented powders etc.

The two verses in the *Gandhasāra* of Gaṅgādhara viz. (1) “मंजिष्ठया व्याघ्रनखेन etc.” and (2) त्वक्कृष्टरेणुनालिका are found in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira in the chapter dealing *Gandhayukti*⁵ or preparation of perfumes. The *Campaka* oil (चंपकगंधितैल) mentioned by Varāhamihira (c. 500 A.D.) had evidently an earlier tradition. We may therefore, safely say that the *Campaka* oil has a clear antiquity of 1500 years. Its popularity has continued unabated to the present day. We must trace references to the *Campaka* preparations before A.D. 500 and determine the exact period of the history of Indian perfumery in which they became current in India.

In his chapter⁶ on *Odes to Plants* (*Vṛkṣānyukti*) based on the *Subhāṣitās* in Sanskrit anthologies Dr. G. P. Majumdar has culled out the following information about the *Campaka* plant :—

“*Campaka*—six odes⁷ have been devoted to this plant, whose flowers are noted for their beautiful colour and fragrance.

It flourishes in a bad locality, full of sands. The poet wonders how it could be so fragrant ! When planted in a village⁸ garden, the gardener does not water it when watering is needed and supplies it with plenty of water out of season. When, however, it blossoms it emits sweet fragrance, which ought to put the gardener to shame.

Its sweet fragrance betrays it even when it flourishes in a *Khadira* forest ; and when it blossoms in a dry region the poet is sorry that it cannot kiss the cheeks of beautiful women there which it is always accustomed to do. Its existence there is altogether useless.”

The above information, however, does not refer to the use of the *Campaka* flower in the manufacture of cosmetics and perfumery.

As a means of economic prediction the *Campaka* has been mentioned by the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (chapter 29).⁹ One can infer “Gold from the flowers of the *Campaka* (*Michelia Champaka*)” says the *Bṛhatsamhitā*.¹⁰

The *Amarakośa*¹¹ refers to the *Campaka* and *Cāmpēya* as follows :—

“चांमेयश्चम्पको हेमपुष्पकः । एतस्य कलिका गन्धफली स्यात् ”

⁵ I note here the names of some of the aromatic ingredients mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (c. A.D. 500) in the *Gandhayukti* :—

“पत्र तुरुष्कवाल तगरैः”, बकुल, चम्पक, जाती, त्वक्, अतिमुक्तक, कुस्तुम्बुरु, शतपुष्पा, कुन्दुरुक, नख, प्रियङ्गु, गुडनख, गुग्गुलु, वालक, लाक्षा, मुस्ता, मांसी, चन्दन, हरीतकी, शङ्खवनद्व, शैलक, श्रीसर्ज, उशीर, सूक्ष्मैल, “मृगकपर्पूर”, कर्पूर, व्याघ्रनख, स्पृक्षा, अगुरु, दमनक, तगर, चोर, मलय, कस्तूरिका, शैलेय, जाती, सर्जरस, श्रीवासक, रोध्र, हिङ्गुल, केसर, एला, मरिच, जातीफल, ताम्बूल, पूगफल, ककौल, लवलीफल. Almost all of these ingredients are mentioned in the *Gandhasāra* and the *Gandhavādā*.

⁶ Vide pp. 409-428 of “*Some Aspects of Indian Civilization*” by G. P. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1938.

⁷ Vide *Sārṅgadharapaddhati* (stanzas 1002-1003). *Sadukti Karmāmṛta*, 58, 2, p. 267 ; *Subhāṣitaratnākara* (stanzas 1-5), pp. 245-246 ; *Subhāṣitāvalī* (stanza 801).

⁸ Francis Buchanan in his *Patna-Gaya Report* (Behar and Orissa Res. Society) gives an account of Bihar and Patna in A.D. 1811-12. In his chapter on “*Natural Productions : Plants*” he observes on pp. 432-433 :—

“The *Champa* of the Bhagalpur list (No. 86) is here known by the same name ; nor is it common. One of the timbers in most request with the cabinet makers in Patna is called *chamrp* and they say that this name is different from that of the tree of which I am now treating ; but the timber comes from Nepal and I know that there the timber of some spontaneous kinds of *Michelia* is in great request for the same purposes. The *Michelia Champak* is everywhere in India an exotic and is only to be found planted about villages.”

⁹ Dr. G. P. Majumdar has translated this chapter in his *Vanaspati*, Calcutta, 1927, pp. 130-134.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 132. On p. 75 Dr. Majumdar refers to *Chāmpēyā* as follows :—“*Chāmpēyā* (*Michelia* sp.) indigenous of Champā-Bhagalpur”.

¹¹ Vide pp. 96-97 of *Amarakośa* ed. by Dr. H. D. Sharma and Dr. N. G. Sardesai, Poona, 1941.

Kṣīrasvāmin explains :—

“चम्पादेशे भवः चाम्पेयः । चम्पुतद्यते अलिभिः चम्पकः चम्पकोऽपि । आह च—चम्पकः सकुमारश्च सुरभिः शीतलश्च सः । चाम्पेयो हेमपुष्पश्च काञ्चनः षट्पदातिथिः (ध. ५।१४२) ॥ गन्धः फलमस्मा गन्धफली । प्रियङ्गु चम्पककलिका चेति द्वयर्थे गन्धफली (अ. द्र. २।७१) । ”

The references to the *Campaka* in the *Amarakośa* corroborate those in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (c. 500 A.D.). The name गन्धफली for the चम्पककलिका mentioned by Amara is also significant. We have already pointed out that the two treatises on *Gandha-Sāstra* (*Gandhasāra* and *Gandhavāda*) prescribe the use of चम्पककलिका (or चांपेकली) frequently in the manufacture of cosmetics and perfumery. If चम्पककलिका had assumed the name “गन्धफली” at the time of the *Amarakośa* (c. A.D. 500) we may infer that it may have been used in the preparation of perfumes even before the time of the *Amarakośa*. At any rate the *Campaka* flowers and the *Campaka* buds were aromatic ingredients of established reputation 1500 years ago, if not more.

The *Varāṅga Carita*¹² of Jaṭāsiṃhanandi a Jain Sanskrit poem of the 7th Century A.D. refers to the perfume of *Campaka* and the garlands of *Campaka* flowers as follows :—

“गन्धार्चनैश्चम्पक नागगन्धान् मूर्त्यां स्वगन्धैरतिशेरेते तान् ।

धूपप्रदानैः कुलकेतवः स्युस्तेजस्विनः स्युर्वरदीपदानैः ॥ ७८ ॥ ”

Page 60— “तुरुष्ककालागचरुचन्दनानां लवङ्गकङ्कोलकुकुडुमानाम् ।

एलातमालोत्पल चम्पकानां गन्धान्स्वगन्धैश्च विशेषयन्ति ॥ ९ ॥ ”

Page 61— “सुगन्धिसञ्चम्पकमालतीनां पुत्रागजात्युत्पलकेतकीनाम् ।

पञ्चप्रकारा रचिताग्रमाला माल्याङ्गवृक्षा विसृजन्त्यजसम् ॥ २२ ॥ ”

Page 219— “प्रियङ्गवशोकद्रुमकर्णिकारः पुत्रागनागाशनचम्पकानाम् ।

वाय्यो विरेजुः सविहारयोग्या बहिः प्रदेशे भुवनोत्तमस्य ॥ ६९ ॥ ”

In the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (Calcutta Edition) an early Sanskrit Buddhist text, the *Campaka* flower is included under काष्ठपुष्पाणि (p. 8) of the *Jetavana*. *Campaka* trees (चम्पकवृक्षाः) are also mentioned (pp. 17-53).

Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* (B. S. Series—*Uttarabhāga*) refers to garlands made of *Campaka* petals (p. 253—चम्पकदलमालिका) and *Campaka* trees (p. 256).

The *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara (c. A.D. 1130) refers to the *Campaka* oil in the following verse (p. 81 of Vol. II of मानसोल्लास G. O. S., Baroda, 1939) :—

“पुत्रागचम्पकोद्दामगन्धसंवासितैः तिलैः ।

यन्त्रसम्पीडितैस्तैलं गृहीत्वाऽभ्यङ्गमाचरेत् ॥ ”

This verse is important as it tells us how the *Campaka* oil was prepared. Seeds of *Tila* (sesame) were perfumed with *Campaka* flowers and then pressed. The oil so produced was used for *abhyāṅga*.

¹² Vide p. 227 of *Varāṅga Carita*, ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1938. I note some references to perfumed products and ingredients from this poem :—

P. 7—“कालागरुप्रततधूपवहाश्च गेहाः”; P. 23—“गन्धविमिश्रतोयैः”; P. 4—“पिषन्ति गन्धवत्” P. 49—“आर्द्रचन्दनकल्कानि”; P. 60—“तृणानि...सौगन्धिकगन्धवति”; P. 67—“गोशीर्षवृक्षस्तरुषु प्रधानः”; P. 70—“गन्धान्दुगन्धीकुसुमसजश्च”; P. 92—“पुष्पाणि तांबूलविलेपनादि” P. 96—“ताम्बूलधूपान्नमैषजेषु” P. 97—“धूपान्नैर्मन्त्रपवित्रभूतैः”; P. 101—“कर्पूरकवासिताभ्यः”; P. 123—“चन्दनवारिभिः” P. 130—“चन्दनोदक” P. 131—“गोशीर्षचन्दन” P. 154—“ताम्बूलवत्त्रोत्तमभूषणानि”; P. 219—“कसुकाः”; “बन्धूकगन्धोक्तमल्लिकानाम्” “लवङ्गकङ्कोलकनालिकेराः”; “ताम्बूलवत्यः” P. 223—“गोशीर्ष” “धूप” “वासचूर्ण” P. 224—“चन्दनतोयगन्ध” P. 225—“गन्धोदक” “तुरुष्क” P. 226—“गन्धपङ्क” P. 229—“चूर्णवास” “लाक्षारस” P. 274—“तुरुष्ककालागरु” P. 282—“ताम्बूलधूपान्नगन्ध”

Buchanan in his *Patna-Gaya Report* (A.D. 1811-12), Vol. II, pp. 633-34 describes the preparation of *Chambeli* oil from *Chambeli* flower (*Jasminum Grandiflorum* w.) as follows :

“ At the beginning of the flowering season they take 82 seers (about 169 lbs.) of the seed of sesamum (Til) and every fair day during the season add to one half of it as many flowers as they can collect. . . . The seed is then squeezed in a common oil mill etc.”

It will be seen from the description of the preparation of the *Chambeli* oil in A.D. 1811-12 that the process of preparing it is identical with that for the *Campaka* oil current in A.D. 1130.

The *Mānasollāsa* in its section on flower-garlands to be worn by the king mentions the *Campaka*¹³ flowers used in the preparation of garlands as follows :—

P. 9. v. (मानसोल्लासं)—

“ चम्पकं मल्लिकायुक्तं चम्पकान्युत्पलैः सह ॥ ४२ ॥

चम्पकं सुरभीयुक्तं चम्पकं पाटलान्वितम् । ”

For blending the perfumes of the *Campaka* flowers they were combined with other flowers for preparing the garlands.

The *Rājavyavahārakośa* of Raghunātha Paṇḍita prepared by the order of Shivaji the Great between A.D. 1650 and 1674 refers to the *Campaka* oil in the भोग्यवर्ग as follows :—

“ मल्लितैलं मोगरेलं चमेलीजातितैलकम् ।

तथा चंपकतैलं चांपेलमिति कीर्तितम् ॥ १५ ॥ ”

The *Suśruta Samhitā*¹⁴ (Sūtrasthāna. chap. 46. पुष्पवर्ग) gives the properties of the *Campaka* as follows :—

“ चम्पकं रक्तपित्तघ्नं शीतोष्णं कफनाशनम् ”

In the Appendix to *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* (Sūtrasthāna) edited by Pt. R. D. Kinjavadekar (Poona, 1940), some texts bearing on स्वस्थवृत्त are recorded. In these texts there are references to the *Campaka* flowers :—

P. 181—(पुष्पादिधारणम्)

“ पाटलं च बृहत्पुष्पं बहुलं चम्पकं तथा ।

श्रीखंडं चैव गौलालं कस्तूर्या सह धारयेत् ॥ ३४ ॥

“ गौलालं चम्पकं पुष्पं वातश्लेष्महरपरम् ”

“ चम्पकं वातशमनं चक्षुष्यं विशदं शुभम् ”

“ प्रावृद्धसु पाटलं धार्यं चम्पकं शरदि स्मृतम् ”

P. 191—(गृहादिनिर्माणविधिः) The *Campaka* tree is to be planted to the South-east quarter of the house :—

“ आग्नेय्यां दिशि गृहतोऽहि चम्पकं वै ”

Thakore Saheb of Gondal¹⁵ states that Indian medical works recommend the use of twigs of several plants for cleansing the teeth. Wonderful properties are ascribed to these twigs. A tooth-brush made of *Campaka* twig (*Michelia Champaka*) improves the organs of speech and hearing.

¹³ In the Word-Index to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya there is no reference to चम्पक but in the Word-Index to Patañjali's *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya* (c. 150 B.C.) “ चम्पकपुट ” is mentioned as follows :—

II, 1, 1 (p. 364 of Kielhorn's Edition, Bombay, 1880)

“ यथा तर्हि मल्लिकापुटः चम्पकपुटः इति निष्कीर्णेषु अपि सुमनःसु अन्वयाद्विशेषणं भवति अयं मल्लिकापुटः अयं चम्पकपुटः इति ” These are references to चम्पक and मल्लिका flowers.

¹⁴ Vide p. 456 of Text with Marathi translation by Krishna Shastri Phadke, Bombay, 1921 (Vol. I)—*Sūtrasthāna*.

¹⁵ Vide p. 59 of *Aryan Medical Science*, London, 1896.

The foregoing evidence about the antiquity of the *Campaka* tree and its flower as used in the preparation of the *Campaka* oil famous in Indian cosmetics and perfumery is by no means complete. I record below in a tabular form the chronology of this evidence as gathered by me from Sanskrit and other sources, technical and non-technical :—

Chronology.	Reference.
c. 150 B.C.	—Patañjali refers to चम्पक and मल्लिका flowers (II, 1, महाभाष्य) <i>Mahābhārata</i> (Āraṇyaka parvan) mentions चम्पक trees growing in the गन्धमादन forest. <i>Suśrūta Saṁhitā</i> mentions the properties of the <i>Campaka</i> flower. <i>Kāraṇḍavyūha</i> mentions <i>Campaka</i> trees and their flowers.
c. A.D. 500	—Varāhamihira in his <i>Bṛhatsaṁhitā</i> refers to “चम्पकगन्धितैल” and “चंपकामोदगंध”
c. 500-800	— <i>Amarakośa</i> refers to चम्पक and its bud called “गन्धफली”
c. A.D. 630	—Bāṇa in his <i>Kādambarī</i> refers to <i>Campaka</i> trees and “चम्पक-दलमल्लिका”
7th Century A.D.	— <i>Varāṅga Carita</i> of Jaṭāsimhanandi contains numerous references to the <i>Campaka</i> trees, flowers and perfumes.
c. A.D. 1130	— <i>Mānasollāsa</i> of Someśvara prescribes the use of <i>Campaka</i> oil for <i>abhyāṅga</i> and also states the mode of its preparation.
c. 1290 A.D.	— <i>Jñāneśvari</i> , Chap. XVIII, 853—“ना ना चांपा चांपौळीपूजिला” ”(चांपा = चंपक and चांपौळी = चंपककलिका)
c. 1300-1600 A.D.	— <i>Gandhasāra</i> of Gaṅgādhara and <i>Gandhavāda</i> with Marāṭhi commentary describe in detail the method of preparing चम्पकतैल and using it for several articles of perfumery. चम्पक कलिका and चम्पक flower were made use of in the manufacture of oils, powders etc.
A.D. 1650-1674	— <i>Rājavyavahārakośa</i> of Raghunātha Paṇḍita mentions चंपकतैल (or चांपेल) along with other fragrant oils such as मोगरेल, चमेली-तैल etc.
A.D. 1626-1678	—Venkātāi in her सीतास्वयंवर (8.7):—“कुलेलें चाफेले घेउनी” (चाफेल = चापेल)
A.D. 1811-12	—Francis Buchanan in his <i>Patna-Gaya Report</i> and <i>Bhagalpur Report</i> describes <i>Champa</i> or <i>Michelia Champaca</i> in his list of Plants. He also describes the process of preparing <i>Chambeli</i> oil, which is exactly the same as mentioned in the <i>Mānasollāsa</i> (A.D. 1130) for the preparation of चम्पक तैल. —चापेल तैल is referred to in women's songs :— “वाटिली हळद चांगली। चापेल तेले मोहिली” (स्त्रीगीत १४—स्त्रीगीतमाला by G. M. Kurṅekar Bombay, 1882.)

The *Upaṇiṣadvākyamahākośa* (by G. S. Sadhale, Bombay, 1940) *Pūrvārdha*, p. 180 quotes a sentence from गायत्रीरहस्योपनिषद् containing a reference to *Campaka* :—

“ चम्पकातसी कुंकुमपिङ्गलेन्द्रनील.....घनसारसंनिभं गायत्र्याः प्रत्यक्षरमनुसृत्य etc.”

As the date of this *Upaṇiṣad* has not been fixed up this reference to *Campaka* renders no chronological help in our present study.

Brewer in his *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* records the following note on *Campaka* :—
P. 236—“ *Champak*—An Indian tree (*Michelia Champaca*). The wood is sacred to Buddha and the strongly scented golden flowers are worn in the black hair of Indian women.”

, “The *Champak* odours fail”

—Shelley : *Lines to Indian Air*.

I hope the foregoing study of the antiquity of the *Champak* tree referred to in the *Mahābhārata* and subsequent literature will be helpful to all students of ancient Indian plant lore and allied subjects. The antiquity of the *Campaka* tree prior to c. 500 B.C. needs to be established. The Word-Index to the *Atharvaveda* (by Vishvesvarananda and Nityananda, 1908) does not mention *Campaka*. In Dr. Majumdar's list of Vedic Plants in *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I the *Campaka* is not mentioned.

The *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* by Böhtlingk and Roth (St. Petersburg, 1858) records references to *Campaka* flower and tree from the *Amarakośa*, *Trikaṇḍaśeṣa*, Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa* (1. 17, 35 : 3. 17, 11), *Suśruta*, *Bhāgavata*, *Lalitavistara*, *Caurapañcāśikā*, *Byahatsamhitā*, *Rājataranginī*, and *Hitopadeśa*.

The *Sabdakalpadruma* records the following verses about चम्पक चतुर्दशी when God Śiva is to be worshipped with *Campaka* flowers :—

उत्तरकामाख्यतन्त्र (11th Pātala)—

“ चतुर्दश्यां च शुक्लायां ज्यैष्ठ्ये मासि महेश्वरम् ।

चम्पकैः पूजयेद्भक्त्या शिवलोकमवाप्नुयात् ॥ ”

JURIDICAL STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW

7. PLEDGE

By Dr. LUDWIK STERNBACH.

ABBREVIATIONS : *Āp.*—Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra ; ed. by G. Buehler, Bombay, Sanskrit Series, 1892-1894. *B.*—Baudhāyana-Dharmasāstra ; ed. by E. Hultsch in " Abhandlungen fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. VIII, Leipzig, 1884. *Brh.*—Brhaspati-Smṛti, reconstructed ; ed. by K. V. Rangasvami Aiyangar, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. I.XXXV, Baroda, 1941. *Col.*—Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions with a Commentary by J. Tercapancanāna, transl. by H. T. Colebrooke, Vol. I, London, 1891. *G.*—Gautama-Dharmasāstra. The Institutes of Gautama ; ed. by A. F. Stenzler, London, 1876 ; with Mashari Bhāṣya ed. by L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1917 ; ed. by M. N. Dutt in the Dharmasāstra Texts, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1908, *Hār.*—Hārīta-Dharmasāstra ; ed. by M. N. Dutt in the Dharmasāstra Texts, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1908. *K.*—Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra ; ed. by R. Shama Sastry, Oriental Library Publications, Sanskrit Series, No. 37/64, Mysore, 1924. *Kāty.*—Kātyāyanasmṛti ; ed. by P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1933. *Mn.*—Mānava-Dharmasāstra with Küllükabhaṭṭa ; Nirṇ. Sag. Press, Bombay, 1886 ; ed. by P. H. Pandya, Bombay, 1913. *N.*—Nārada-Smṛti with Nārada-bhāṣya of Asahāya ; ed. by J. Jolly, Calcutta, 1885. *Vās.*—Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmasāstra ; ed. by A. A. Fuehrer in " Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series ", No. XXIII, Poona, 1930. *Vi.*—Viṣṇu-Smṛti ; ed. by M. N. Dutt in the Dharmasāstra Texts, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1909. *Viv.*—Vivādacintāmaṇi from Vācaspatimīśraviracita (Ramacandravidyāvāgiśasodhitah), 1894. *Vyāsa.*—Vyāsa-Dharmasāstra ; ed. by M. N. Dutt in the Dharmasāstra Texts, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1909. *Y.*—Yājñavalkya-Dharmasāstra ; ed. by Dr. A. F. Stenzler (" Yājñavalkya's Gesetzbuch ", Berlin-London, 1849 ; with Mitākṣarā's (Mit.) Commentary of Vijñyaneśvara by W. L. S. Panśikar ; Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay ; with Viramitrodaya (Vir.) in Caṅkhambā Saṁskṛta-Granthamālā.

CHAPTER I. NOMENCLATURE

1. In ancient Indian law we do not find a uniform nomenclature for the word "pledge". The usual word used in Sanskrit texts for "pledge" is the word **आधि**. *Brh.* (X, 38) also says that "the pledge" is termed **बन्ध** or **बन्धक**¹.

Pledges are considered in the sources of ancient Indian law among the first titles of law *i.e.* recovery of debt **ऋणदान** (or debt) and according to Asahāya (*ad* N. I-20) to the eighth of the 132 branches (divisions)² as **आधिभेद**³.

They are considered as one of the two existing guarantees which can be offered to the creditor.⁴

2. Division of Pledges according to the Sources of Law.

From the legal point of view pledges are declared to be of several sorts. *Brh.* (X, 38-39) divides pledges into eight categories *i.e.* **जङ्गम** (movable) and **स्थावर** (immovable) ; **गोप्य** (to be kept) and **भोग्य** (to be used) ; **यादृच्छिक** (with no time limit) and **सावधि** (with a time limit) ; **लेख्यारूढ** (stipulated in writing) and **साक्षिमान्** (stipulated before witnesses).

The first six distinctions relate to the division of pledges from the legal point of view and the last two from the formal point of view *i.e.* the manner in which the contract of pledge was concluded.

N. (1-124) divides pledges into four categories : (1) with a time limit *i.e.* which must be redeemed within a certain period (**कृतकालोपनेय**), (2) those without a time limit (**यावद्देयोद्यत**) (3) to be kept only (**गोप्य**) (4) to be used (**भोग्य**).

1 **आधिबन्धः समाख्यातः ...**

2 N. I, 20.

3 p. 10.

4 N. I, 117. **विश्रम्भहेतुं द्वावत्र प्रतिभूराधिरेव च ।**

Y. (II-58, 59, 61) also divides pledges into four classes *i.e.* into pledges fixed as to payment, the nomenclature of which is not given (आधिः प्रणश्येद्द्विगुणे धने यदि न मोच्यते ¹⁵) and with a time limit (कालकृत ¹⁶), as well as pledges to be kept (गोप्याधि) and to be used (फलभोग्य). Y. introduces another kind of pledge also namely the “चरित्रबन्धककृत” *i.e.* a pledge based on good conduct which means according to Mit. (*ad* Y. II-61) relying on the good faith of the pledgee or pledgor. This type of pledge is contracted either when the pledgor gives the pledgee a very valuable article as a token and takes in return only a small loan, or alternatively when he gives something of purely nominal value and takes a large loan in return.¹⁷

K. (178/8-9) distinguishes between pledges to be kept and pledges to be used, although the proper nomenclature of these two pledges cannot be found. नाधिस्तोपकारः सीदेन्न चास्य मूल्यं वर्धेत । निरुपकारस्सीदेन्मूल्यं चास्य वर्धेत.

K. in another place (178/16) mentioning immovable property (स्थार) divides it into प्रयासभोग्य and फलभोग्य. Under these terms we may understand pledged immovables which should be used ; the difference between these two pledges is dependent on whether the pledge bears fruit with or without work.

Vi. does not make any division of pledges. From the text, however, it is evident that a distinction between pledges existed *i.e.* into pledges to be kept and to be used, into unlimited and limited as to time, as well as into immovable and movable pledges. Vi. in VI-5 mentions pledges to be used (आध्युपभोग), in VI-8 immovable pledges स्थारमाधि and in VI-7 pledges limited as to time (अन्तश्चक्षौ प्रविष्टायामपि).

G (XX-32 & 35)¹⁸ mentions only loans secured by a pledge to be used भुक्ताधिर्न and आधिभोगः even Mn. (VIII-143) does not mention any distinction between pledges ; Mn. quotes only pledges to be used (सोपकारे कौसीरीं ¹⁹).

Kāty. (516) mentions pledges to be used and calls them भोग्याधि and divides this kind of pledge into जङ्गम (movable) and स्थार (immovable). In addition in v. 518 Kāty. divides pledges into documentary ones (लेख्यकृत) and those made before witnesses (साक्ष्यकृत). Kāty. (520, 519) also introduces another distinction unknown to other sources of law *viz.* into अनिर्दिष्ट and निर्दिष्ट *i.e.* pledges which were not specified (did not exist) and specified (which existed at the time of making the pledge). It can be rather assumed that these last two pledges determine or describe only pledges where a document has been drawn up (लेख्यकृत)²⁰.

3. Division of Pledges from the Legal Point of View.

It is evident from the above that from the point of view of civil law pledges (आधि, बन्ध, बन्धक) are divided into pledges to be kept only (or pledges for custody) and pledges to be used (usufructuary pledges).

Pledges for custody are known as गोप्य (Brh., N.), or गोप्याधि (Y.). Usufructuary pledges are known as भोग्य (Brh., N.), भोग्याधि (Kāty.), भुक्ताधिर्न (G.) फलभोग्य (Y., K.²¹) आध्युप.

¹⁵ See also Y. II-64.

¹⁶ Mft. *ad* आधि divides also pledges into कृतकाल and अकृतकाल.

¹⁷ Y. connects this rule with the loan contracted without a pledge (“promised” सत्य-ङ्कारकृत). Although this rule is placed among rules relating to pledges it rather concerns unsecured pledges.

¹⁸ Ed. by A. F. STENZLER. Edited by L. ŚRINIVASACHARYA (XII-29 and 32). Ed. by M. N. DUTT wrongly मुक्ताधिर्न.

¹⁹ Medh. on Mn. VIII-143 distinctly divides pledges into pledges to be used and to be kept.

²⁰ See also the division of pledges into four in Parāśara-Mādhaviya quoting a verse of Bharadvāja. (P. V. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, p. 128).

²¹ Without or with the use of work (प्रयासभोग्य).

भोग (Vi.), आधिभोग (G.) or सोपकार कौसीदी (Mn.).¹²

The second division of pledges depends on the type of thing pledged *i.e.* whether it is immovable or movable. An immovable pledge is known as **स्थावर** (Brh., K., Kāty.) or **स्थावरमाधि** (Vi., and a movable pledge as **जङ्गम** (Brh., Kāty.).

The third division relates to pledges contracted for a limited time and those not contracted for a limited time. Time limited pledges are known as **सावधि** (Brh.), **कालकृत** (Y.), **कुतकाल** (Mit.) or **कुतकालोपनेय** (N.) and pledges not limited as to time as **अकृतकाल** (Mit.), **यादच्छिक** (Brh.) or **यावद्दोद्यत** (N.).¹³ This distinction is rather important for the designation of the time and manner in which the pledge has to be returned or the contract of pledge annulled; it is also connected with the problem of satisfying the pledge in case the debt is not discharged at all or not properly discharged.

As a fourth division a special kind of pledge introduced by Y. only must be mentioned. This is the pledge based on the good faith of the pledgee or pledgor and known as **चरित्र-बन्धककृत**.

From the point of view of juridical procedure (*i.e.* not of civil law but formal law) one ought to mention the fifth division of pledges *i.e.* pledges stipulated in writing or before witnesses. Pledges stipulated in writing are known as **लेख्यरूढ** (Brh.) or **लेख्यकृत** (Kāty.) and pledges stipulated before witnesses as **साक्षिमन्** (Brh.) or **साक्ष्यकृत** (Kāty.).

Also from the point of view of legal procedure the last division of pledges is important *i.e.* into unspecified and specified pledges, known as **अनिर्दिष्ट** and **निर्दिष्ट** (Kāty.).

CHAPTER II. PLEDGES TO BE KEPT AND TO BE USED

A. Pledges to be kept (Pledges for custody).

4. Articles of Pledge to be kept.

Things which are suitable for this kind of pledge are various and are mentioned exemplarily by the commentators on the sources of law or even by codificators themselves. Mit. mentions a copper pan, Medh. cloth, and according to Kāty. it is evident that female slaves could be given by the pledgor to the pledgee. It must be admitted that every thing which has a value might be the object of a pledge to be kept.

5. General Rules.

Such a thing is given by the pledgor into the possession (detention) of the pledgee. The pledgee is obliged to keep it and is not allowed to use it. If the pledgee uses the pledge such an act causes legal consequences regulated in the *Smṛtis*. These legal consequences are various, but, in the rule, the pledgee loses the whole interest due to him or part thereof and sometimes must pay compensation for the use of the pledged article.

The pledgee is obliged to keep the pledged thing *cum omni diligentia* and is responsible for its destruction or damage.¹⁴

It is, therefore, evident that the pledge for custody is equivalent to the Roman *pignus*, which was given by the pledgor to the pledgee to secure the right of the latter. The pledgee is entitled to secure payment of a claim through the medium of the pledged thing.

6. Prohibition of using Pledges for Custody.

The rule relating to the prohibition of using the pledge for custody is expressed in the best way in N. and Mn. although both sources use the word **आधि** instead of **गोप्य**.¹⁵

¹² Sarasvativilasa (p. 233) quoting Vyāsa and Bharadvāja divides pledges for use **भोग्याधि** into two kinds : **सप्रत्ययभोग्याधि** and **अप्रत्ययभोग्याधि**. In the first case interest received by use of pledge is taken by the pledgee on account of the debt of the pledgor in order to reduce the principal; the second one does not differ from the ordinary **भोग्य**. See also Mit. (*ad* Y. II-64) and P. V. Kane's Kāty. p. 218, note *ad* 51.

¹³ See also Vi. VI-7.

¹⁴ See § 7, 32.

¹⁵ See Col. p. 151.

The text of N. (I-127) and Mn. (VIII-144) is identical and runs : न भोक्तव्यो बलादाधिः
That means that the pledge for custody must not be used by force (बल).

In another place N. as well as Mn. in almost identical words say :

यः स्वामिनाप्यनुज्ञातमार्धि भुङ्क्तेऽविचक्षणः (N. I-128).

यः स्वामिनाऽननुज्ञातमार्धि भुङ्क्तेऽविचक्षणः (Mn. VIII-150)

That means that the pledge for custody must not be used without the authorisation of the pledgor (अननुज्ञात),

N. and Mn., as we see, differentiate as to whether the pledge to be kept is used by force, or without the authorisation of the pledgor. It is a distinction between the use *vi* and *clam*.

Neither the ancient Indian sources of law nor the commentators give an explanation of what should be understood by "using a pledge to be kept *vi* and *clam*". Is it "use" against the will of the pledgor and use without the consent of the pledgor? Or is it use by force of the pledge against the will of the pledged thing or without its will and without using force? The latter interpretation seems to be evident from Kāty. (525) where we read about the pledging of a female slave whom the pledgee can make work unwillingly (*vi*) or without the consent of the pledgor (*clam*).¹⁶

It is clear that it is an exceptional case as it is seldom that a living thing (a female slave) is given as a pledge.

Therefore, the legal consequences of the keeping of the contract of pledge for custody depend on the wording of the contract agreed between the pledgor and the pledgee. It is essential whether the pledged thing was used against or without the will of the pledgor. That this interpretation is correct is evident from Medh.'s commentary on Mn. VIII-144, who says that "others explain" that the verse 144 of book VIII refers to the case where the debtor at the time of depositing the pledge distinctly says "do not use the pledge, etc. . . ." and yet the pledgee ignoring this does make use of the thing.

7. Legal Consequences of Using a Pledge for Custody.

a). If the Pledge does not lose its Value.

As a rule the pledgee who uses the pledge *vi* forfeits the interest due to him. (भुञ्जानो वृद्धिमुत्सृजेत्) —N. I-127, Mn. VIII-144) and the pledgee who uses the pledge *clam* loses one half of his interest as compensation for such use (तेनार्धवृद्धिर्मोक्तव्या तस्य भोगस्य निष्कयः— N. I-128, Mn. VIII-150).

Only N. and Mn., however, distinguish between the use of pledge *vi* and *clam*. All the other sources of law speak of the use of pledge for custody and admit that in case of use of this pledge the pledgee forfeits the interest due to him. This is evident from the fact that the rest of the ancient Indian sources of law i.e. Y., Vi., G. and others admit that the contract of pledge to be kept itself contains the prohibition of the use of pledge, which conforms to the *essentiale* of the contract of pledge for custody.¹⁷

Mit. (*ad* Y. I-59) explains that although the use be slight, even a large amount of interest would be forfeited, as there is a breach of contract. Similarly Medh. (*ad* Mn. VIII-144) regulates this question.¹⁸

The question of use of a pledge which is unwilling to work must be described apart from other regulations. This case is regulated in Kāty. (525). It refers to female slaves which

¹⁶ अकाममननुज्ञातमार्धि यः कर्म कारयेत् । See also Vācaspatimīśra quoted in Col. p. 157.

¹⁷ Y. II-59, Vi. VI-5, G. XII-32.

¹⁸ It must be added that Brh. X-39/40 mentions in general that the creditor who uses a pledge by avarice (probably a pledge to be kept) before it is payable should stop its use. It is possible, however, that this para relates also to pledges for use or to a special agreement relating to pledges according to which in spite of the prohibition of using the pledge during a certain period, it is used. This para is extensively commented on in Col. (pp. 157-158).

were pledged by the pledgor. (Ratnākara and other commentators¹⁹ are probably right when they say that this text does not solely concern a pledge to be kept ; it also relates to pledges to be used).

According to Kāty. he who uses a living pledge *vi* or *clam* shall receive no interest on his loan, as well as pay the *lucrum* i.e. the fruits of labour obtained by the use of the living pledge. It is in conformity with the rule mentioned above.

Viv.²⁰ referring to the contexts of Mn. and N. as well as interpreting Kāty. 575 comes logically to the conclusion that the pledgee who causes a living pledge to work against his/her will (*vi*) should forfeit the whole interest, but if the pledge works voluntarily *i.e.* without the consent of the pledgor (*clam*)—half the interest should be forfeited.

This interpretation seems to be right, provided that the living pledge was given as a pledge for custody.

In this connection it must be added that according to Kāty. (526) the pledgee who insults or injures with words or blows the living pledge while working for him has to pay the first amercement. It is clear that the general rule regarding the loss of interest must be applied here too and the amercement introduced here is connected with the rule regarding the prohibition of abuse of a pledge.

b). If the Pledge loses its Value.

The rules mentioned above relate to the pledged thing for custody if by using it the pledged thing does not lose its value or does not become damaged or destroyed.

If, however, in case of a pledge to be kept, the pledged thing itself becomes destroyed or damaged, in the rule, besides the loss of interest, *in integrum restitutio* and payment of *lucrum*—the pledgee is compelled to pay compensation. This rule is adopted in the *Smṛitis* which admit that the pledgee cannot satisfy his claim from the pledged thing. If it is, however, admitted that the pledge can satisfy the claim of the pledgee, if the debt is not paid, in the rule, the pledgee loses his right to claim the debt and is even obliged to pay compensation in case the value of the pledged thing was higher than the amount of the debt due. This rule is settled in the same way in Mn. and N., and in a different way in K. and Bṛh.

K. which takes into consideration this question says in the most general way that the rules relating to deposits should be applied (178/7). The rules relating to deposits say that the depositary who has made use of the deposit for his own comfort shall pay compensation as well as a fine of 12 *paṇas* (K. 178/1-2). K. in another place says :

अनिसृष्टोभोक्ता मूल्यशुद्धमाजीवं बन्धं च दद्यात् । (K. 179/1).

The pledgee in case of a pledge to be kept who enjoys this pledge without permission shall lose the principal, pay the net profit and compensation (बन्ध).

On this question the legal point of view of Mn and N.²¹ differs somewhat. Mn. (VIII-144) says : मूल्यानं तोषयेच्चैनमाधिस्तेनोऽन्यथा भवेत्.

According to these two sources of law (these rules relate to the use of pledge for custody *vi*), the person who by using the pledge destroys or damages it is liable to re-establish the original legal position (*in integrum restitutio*). Medh. (*ad* Mn. VIII-144) explains that if a pledge is in the form of things which cease to exist by use the full compensation must take place. And if he is not willing to repay the pledged thing, he has to pay the penalty which he would have to pay if he had actually stolen a thing of the same kind as the pledge.

We see that in this case the commentary on Mn. by Medh. is different from the text of K., but conforms to one point which, after all, emanates from the rule mentioned before *i.e.* that in addition to the restoration of the pledge the whole *lucrum* derived from the use of the pledge, must be paid. The same point of view is to be also found in Nārāyaṇa (Asa-hāya) (*ad* N. I-127). Undoubtedly the pledged thing must be restored if the value of the pledged thing is higher than the loan.

¹⁹ Quoted in Col. p. 152.

²¹ Mn. VIII-144 and N. I-127,

²⁰ Viv. p. 10.

b). Pledging of an Immovable Property to two Pledges.

Brh. (X-44) declares that a field when pledged to two pledgees at almost identical times, shall belong to that pledgee by whom it was first possessed. This rule is connected with the question of whether the contract of the pledge is a real or a consensual contract.³³ Ratnākara explains that this rule is applied if the priority cannot be proved. It can take place when the pledgee does not enjoy the thing pledged to him and it cannot be remembered to which of the pledgees it was pledged first. If the first pledgee was traced then he will be considered as the right one. If it should be proved, however, that they possess the pledged immovable property for an equal period, then it shall be had in common *i.e.* shared equally by them (Brh. X-45).^{34, 35}

c). Enjoyment of the Immovable Pledges.

The pledged immovable property should be enjoyed, according to K. (178/16-17) in such a manner that its value does not deteriorate. This rule, however, is a general rule which is to be applied to all kinds of pledges.³⁶

d). Return of Immovable Pledges.

The rules of Brh. X-70 and 71 apply as well to all kinds of pledges according to which when an immovable property was pledged for use and the fixed period has not expired the pledgor cannot recover his property nor the pledgee his loan. On the contrary, when the stipulated period has elapsed the pledgor as well as the pledgee are allowed to do so provided they have not made another agreement regarding the recovery of the property and loan in an earlier period. The same rule is to be found in Vi. (VI-9).

These rules do not exceed the limits of ordinary rules concerning all kinds of pledges. Similarly we find in Brh. (X-67-68) a rule relating to the pledge of an immovable property if the term of recovery of the debt was not agreed upon, but a special agreement took place. According to this agreement the pledgor offered the pledge saying that the pledged immovable property should be enjoyed by the pledgee up to the moment when the principal had been realised together with the interest (*i.e.* when becoming equal to the principal); then the pledge should be returned to the pledgor. According to this agreement pledged immovable properties should be enjoyed so long as it was necessary to realise "no more than the principal" (principal and interest) and then they should be returned to the pledgor.

It should be noted that K. refers in addition to the capital and interest to the expenses incurred in maintaining the pledged immovable properties, and Vi. (VI-8) also mentions a special agreement concerning restoration of pledged immovable properties.

e). General Characteristic of the Exceptions Relating to Immovable Properties.

These rules although laid down by the ancient Indian sources of law only in connection with pledged immovable properties are similar to other rules which do not apply to immovable properties as every agreement can be concluded between the parties regarding the restoration, time limit, etc. of the pledge.

(To be continued.)

³³ See § 23, 24 and 25.

³⁴ Kāty. says that he who makes a false document about the pledge of an immovable property, should be deprived of his tongue, hands and toes (*lex tallionis*).

³⁵ See § 35-38.

³⁶ See § 32-34.

A NOTE ON POPULARITY OF DEVĪ-MĀHĀTMYA IN GUJARĀT

By Dr. M. R. MAJMUĐĀR.

Under the influence of the gradually developing phases of popular Vaiṣṇavism, the cult of Siva and Śakti was greatly modified ; and it resulted in the right-hand worship of the mother Goddess, with identical rites and ceremonies. The central inspiration of Western Indian painting is mostly Vaiṣṇava. Vernacular poetry and painting, popular music and celebration of festivals are also the various expressions of this common inspiration.

True Śāktas are, however, not at all numerous in Gujarāt. While locating the cult of Śakti over the different provinces in India, the Śākta paṇḍits are fond of reciting the following couplet:¹

गौडे प्रकाशिता विद्या मैथिलैः प्रबलीकृता ।

क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुर्जरे विलयं गता ॥

“The cult was proclaimed in Gauḍa, and was developed by the Maithils ; it is only occasionally met with in Mahārāṣṭra, but has completely disappeared in Gujarāt.”

The earliest passage regarding the worship of the goddess Durgā, occurs in the *Mahābhārata* wherein is celebrated the three-fold aspect of her form, representing the triple qualities of the Trinity. Two hymns in the *Harivaṃśa*, and the episode in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, known as the “*Devī Māhātmya*”² show a still further advance.

The *Harivaṃśa* probably dates from the 4th century, and the *Caṇḍī-Māhātmya*, almost certainly from the 6th century at the latest ; for it forms the chief background of Bāṇa's “*Caṇḍī-Sataka*,” an ode to Caṇḍī in a hundred verses, which was written at the court of Emperor Harṣa early in the 7th century.

The *Caṇḍī-Māhātmya*, though concerned with the exploits of the goddess Caṇḍī, curiously enough, does not form a part of the Pauranic texts sacred to the Śākta sect, namely the *Devī Bhāgavata*, and the *Kālīkā Purāṇa*, which are taken as *Upa-purāṇas*. This fact, clearly testifies to the non-sectarian nature of the *Caṇḍī-Māhātmya*, which comprises of 13 Adhyāyas (Adh. 78 to 90 in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*). The same episode is, however, found expanded to 35 Adhyāyas in the Fifth Skandha of the *Devī Bhāgavata*.

The goddess Durgā promises in the text that she never deserts a temple or a house in which the *Durgā-Māhātmya* is read daily ; and this document is still one of the chief works in use among the Hindus of whatever sect, especially at and during the Navarātra festival in the month of Aśvin. It is accordingly popularly believed that out of the gallery of Hindu gods, Caṇḍī and Vināyaka are the only powerful and serviceable gods as far as this Kali age is concerned. (Cf. कलौ चंडीविनायकौ ।)

It is this non-sectarian character of the contents of the *Durgā Māhātmya* that has led to the prevalence and popularity of the theme, which is panegyric to the glories of Śakti—the mother, protector, and the benefactor of the human race. Love, in its various spiritual forms thus permeates the cult of Kālī-Durgā in Gujarāt, where she has lost most of her terrible phases and has become the Sweet mother of the Universe.

¹ A kindred verse occurs in the *Bhāgavata Māhātmya* from *Padma Purāṇa* with reference to the prevalence of Bhakti, where Bhakti personified declares as under :

उत्पन्ना द्राविडे चाहं वृद्धिं कर्णाटके गता ।

क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुर्जरे विलयं गता ॥

² The text is variously known as “*Devī Bhagavati Māhātmya*” or “*Devī Māhātmya*”, “*Durgā Pāṭha*”, “*Caṇḍī-Pāṭha*” or shortly “*Caṇḍī*” and also “*Saptaśatī*” (comprising of 700 verses),

The *Durgā Devī Māhātmya* describes in great detail the furious fights in which the goddess destroyed certain demons who were threatening the gods. Here her limitless power and her terrific appearance find forcible, even ghastly expression. She devours unnumbered foes and drinks their blood. It also deals with the exploits of the goddess Caṇḍī, who killed the buffalo-demon, emanated as she was as the spirit of light from Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the minor deities, who had contributed to the formation of the Mahādevī's limbs, as well as her ornaments and weapons.

The story runs that there was a king by the name of Suratha of the line of Caitra, who was driven away from his kingdom by powerful enemies and treacherous friends and who rode alone on horse-back to a dense jungle, knowing not what to do. There he met a Vaiśya by the name of Samādhi, who had been robbed by greedy sons and a selfish wife. Both Suratha and Samādhi sought the hermitage of the saint Medhas for the solution of their troubles and the attainment of mental peace. The saint narrates the exploits of the goddess by whose grace both of them get the desired boon.

The earliest literary reference to the *Devī Māhātmya* episode in Gujarāt is the poem 'Surathotsava'³ by Someśvaradeva, the author of the historical panegyric, '*Kīrti-kaumudī*' a Nāgar Brāhmin from Vaḍnagar, who was honoured as Gurjareśvara Purohita during the reigns of two Hindu sovereigns, Bhīmadeva and Viśaladeva in the 13th century A.C. It is a Sanskrit poem of 15 cantos in the style of a Mahākāvya woven round the incident of king Suratha's banishment, who ultimately recovered his kingdom through the boon of the Devī, whose '*māhātmya*' he heard, and by his devotion appeased her.

A passing reference to the religious history of Gujarāt, suggests that when the people of Gujarāt followed either the Śakti-worship or animism, the 'Garabā' was the popular folk-dance. Later on with the development of the 'rāsa' or cowherd-dance (evolved from the '*hallisaka*' and the '*lāsyā*' of the treatises on music), Vaiṣṇavism came to be preached in Gujarāt; and as a result, the Śākta and animistic beliefs were artistically blended together evolving a novel form of secular dance.

The indigenous drama of Gujarāt-'Bhavāī' (may be from 'bhāva' the name of the 'sūtradhāra' or 'Bhavānī' the goddess) as it is popularly called, is originally associated with the dramatic performances of the glorious deeds of the goddess Ambā. These are always acted for the whole night of the vigil before the sacred image, even by some of the highest of the Brāhmins of Gujarāt. Owing to the gradual decay of religious inspiration,⁴ however, these performances have, through the march of time, led to the growth of a secular element, based on realistic farce and contemporary satire.

The growth of such entertainments appears to be clearly in accordance with the text of the '*Devī Māhātmya*,' where it is said that the Gandharvas performed '*lalitā*'-shows to celebrate the victory of goddess Mahākālī over the demon Sumbha. In the Marāṭhā country on such occasions the 'goṇḍhala' dance is performed in honour of Ambā Bhavānī, in connection with which songs are sung in praise of the goddess, admitting of some comparison with the Gujarātī 'garabās.'

Śākta feeling expressed itself in vernacular in Gujarāt in the translation of the Caṇḍī episode of Śrīdhara in 120 stanzas of Dīngal Gujarātī, styled '*Devī kavita*' (in early 15th century) which is prior to the one called '*Sapta Sātī*' by Bhālaṇa who had also rendered Bāṇa's '*Kādambarī*' in Gujarātī verse about 1500 A.C. Premānanda rendered it in 'deśī' tunes as a portion of the whole of the *Mārkaṇḍya Purāṇa* in Samvat 1765 (1709 A.C.) Vailabhhabhaṭṭa, a contemporary, of Premānanda, and Ranachodājī Diwān, the author of '*Tarik-i-Sorathā*' have told the story in as many 'garabās' (popular Śākta-songs sung by companies of men and women), as there are Adhyāyas in the original Sanskrit text. Few poets like Miṭhū from a village on the banks of the Mahī river, and Nātha Bhavāna of Jūnāgaḍh tended to write more along lines of Śākta teachings, inclined more towards ritual meditation than towards devotion and service.

³ Published in the "Kāvya Mālā" series.

⁴ The following titles of popular religious scenes (*Veśas*) acted during Bhavāī are restored from oral tradition: (1) Ardha-nārīśvara, (2) Kālīkā, (3) Vāmana-svarūpa, (4) Caturbhujā, (5) Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa, (6) Kahāna-gopī, and (7) Gorakha-maḍhi,

Gujarāt claims to have three of the prominent Siddha-piṭhas of Śakti—that of Ambikā on Mount Ārāsura, of Kālīka on Pāvāgaḍha Hill, and of Bālā Bahucarā on the high plains of North Gujarāt.

An historic incident, illustrating how Ambikā's grace was showered on one Gujarāti merchant is recorded both in literature, as well as in painting.⁵ The incident forms a stock illustration testifying to the efficacy of the 'kavaca' prayers to the goddess as referred to in the following śloka : "Whoever on high seas has his ship caught in a whirlwind storm, by remembering my glories described in the (Devimāhātmya) text, will soon get relieved." (Adht. 12. Śl. 28.)

One Akherāma (Samvat 1700—1840) a Nāgar Vaiśya hailing from Visanagar (N. Gujarāt) was carrying on immense trade with China in opium from Mālwa, and had a firm at Mandor. While on a return voyage from China, with valuable treasure, he and his ships were caught in a terrible storm. At this juncture Akherāma ardently prayed to Mother goddess (Ambikā) for help, and staked half of his treasure to be presented to the goddess on rescue. It is said, his prayer :

"Rescue O ! Rescue my sinking ships, O Mother !
And bring us on, O Mother, to the shore "

was heard ; and goddess Ambikā, with a slight touch of her 'tri-śūla' dragged out from the storm the devotee and his cargo, which were in peril. It is reported that the ends of the 'tri-śūla' were consequently found bent in the temple at Ārāsura (Ābu). The firm of Akherāma Jhaveri at Mandor, called 'Baḍā Pārekhiwālā' is still well-known for its devotion towards Ambikā, who is described in texts as the refuge of all sufferers and all who are pursued by enemies, internal and external.

The efficacy of the text as a pacifying remedy—a 'śānti-upacāra'—is also recognised in a 16th century Old Gujarāti poem. In order to relieve the uneasiness caused in the mind of Kāmakandalā at her separation from Mādhava, various remedies were tried and the recitals of Durgā-pāṭha were also resorted to.¹

The most prolific sources of materials for the school of early Western Indian miniature-painting are decidedly the numerous palm and paper MSS. of the two Śvetāmbara Jaina works, the '*Kalpasūtra*' and the '*Kālakācārya Kathā*'. To this, however, may be added the equally popular series of '*Devimāhātmya*' and the '*Bhāgavata Daśama Skandha*' MSS. that we come across in Gujarāt, lying scattered over several private collections, now in custody of Brāhmin families of old literary tradition.

The reverence and popularity which is due to the *Devimāhātmya* among the non-Jainas in Gujarāt affords a comparison to the respect and honour that is shown to the *Kalpasūtra* among the Jainas. The main points of similarity are :

(i) The extent : The *Kalpasūtra* is popularly known as "Bārasā Sūtra" as it runs to over twelve hundred (1216) ślokas : The '*Devī-Māhātmya*' is otherwise styled "*Sapta-śatī*," from its extent of 700 verses.

(ii) The three sections : The *Kalpasūtra* consists of three main sections and the *Devimāhātmya*, too, has three main divisions : (1) 'Jinacarita' or the lives of the Jina Saviour, (2) 'Sthavirāvali' or the succession of pontiffs, and (3) Samācārī or rules for monks at the Paryūsaṇā parva, are the three sections for the former ; whereas (1) 'Prathamā Carita' or the first incident, (2) Madhyama Carita or the middle one, and (3) 'Uttara Carita' or the concluding one are the divisions of the latter : the three episodes

⁵ A photograph of the original painting 200 years old, at Mandor (C. I.) was published for the first time in the '*Bombay Samācāra*' (Gujarāti), weekly edition for 2nd December, 1934.

⁶ Vide my edition of "Mādhavānala Kāmakandalā Prabhandha" in Old Gujarāti (Samvat 1574), published in the Baroda G. O. Series, Vol. I (No. 93) :—

"को मृत्युंजय जप करइ को नवदुर्गा पाठ ।

—अंग ६, दूहो २४८.

being respectively dominated by the triple phase of Mahālakṣmī, Māhākālī, and Mahā Sarasvatī.

(iii) The subject-matter : The *Kalpasūtra* deals with legends of Mahāvira and other Tirthaṅkaras : The *Devī Māhātmya* concerns itself with the exploits of Śakti. The Jinās were born to free humanity from the bonds of life and death. The Śakti manifested herself for the furtherance of the happiness of gods and mortals.

(iv) Time for the festival and recitals : Both the texts form an important item of the religious ceremonies connected with the festivals. One being called the 'Paryūsaṇā parva' and the other the 'Navarātra mahotsava'. Readings or recitals from these texts extend to over a week in the month of Bhādrapada for the Kalpasūtra and in the month of Aśvin or sometimes in Māgha, Caitra or Āśāḍha for the Devīmāhātmya.

(v) Pictorial representation : Incidents from both the texts have been re-told in line and colour by artists, as illustrated copies of these texts appear to have been in good demand among their respective public in Gujarāt. These were meant to be shown over to the laity by the holy orders, who used to explain the outstanding incidents of the narrative, with the help of these illustrations, often embellished with gold and silver.

(vi) Stereotyped representations : The lives of Pārśva, Rṣabha and Neminātha, with the exception of the names of their parents and certain minor details are almost identical with that of Mahāvira. The lives of these Jinās are illustrated in a comparatively summary fashion, while the remaining 20 are usually represented in a single illustration. In a similar way in the Devī-Māhātmya the exploits of Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī and Mahā Sarasvatī—the three phases of one Supreme Śakti are described in detail, whereas those of the Navadurgā and the other Mātṛkās are dealt with in a summary fashion and in one picture.

(vii) Style of miniatures : The comparison thus instituted is shown closer when we find that even the style of miniature-painting is identical upto the 16th century in both the cases ; after this period, however, the style has gradually been modified by Rājput and Mughal influences.

The Jainas are not averse to Śakti worship ; however, they do not allow Śakti the place of principal reverence as creative energy of the world. The conception and imagery of the sixteen Śruta Devatās and the Yakṣiṇīs of the Tirthaṅkaras, disclose points of identity in respect of names, attributes, etc. with those of the Navadurgās mentioned in the Devī-māhātmya. Sarasvatī or Śruta devī of the Śvetāmbaras riding the swan, with four hands, bearing a lotus, viṇā (or varada), book and rosary resembles Brahmāṇī of the Hindu pantheon. The Mānavī of the Jainas, who sits on a twig or on a blue lotus and is of blue colour resembles the Śākambharī of the Devīmāhātmya. Other comparisons with Aindrī, Vārāhi, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kālī and Māheśvarī are omitted for want of space.

The most prolific source of materials for the Western Indian school of miniature-painting, outside the Jaina environment is thus the group of illustrated paper MSS. depicting the episodes from the *Devī-Māhātmya*.

The episodes narrated in the *Devī-Māhātmya* and the occasional panegyrics to the Glory of the Goddess refer to the controlling of brute-force by the Soul-force of the kindest yet the cruellest of women, the Mahādevī, which is the Supreme Power. The real 'Devī-Yuddha' is the destruction of egotism, pride and self-seeking by the power of the Goddess that is in us and acts through us. The study of the text and the paintings of the *Devī-Māhātmya* is, therefore, believed to lead to this ideal, if properly understood.

SOME BUDDHIST ACĀRYAS AND THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

By Shri DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEE.

From Hiuen Tsang's Records and from 'Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu and the date of Vasubandhu' (J. Takakusu. *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 33-53) we learn that Vikramāditya, king of Śrāvastī of wide renown distributed five lacs of gold coins on the day on which he reduced the Indies to submission. Sometime after this there was a religious controversy at his court with Vasubandhu's master Manor-hita or Buddhāmītra and Vindhyavāsa (*alias* Īśvara Kṛṣṇa), the author of the *Sāṃkhya saptati* (or *Kārikā*) in which the latter came out victorious. As such, King Vikramāditya gave the Sāṃkhya philosopher three lacs of gold as reward and transferred the royal patronage from Buddhism to Brahmanism. After some time Vikramāditya of Śrāvastī lost his kingdom and was succeeded by one (Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā) who widely patronised those distinguished for literary merit. Vasubandhu on his return to Ayodhyā, heard of the shame of his master and searched for Vindhyavāsa. Finding that he was dead, Vasubandhu wrote a work entitled *Paramārtha Saptati* in opposition to Vindhyavāsa's *Sāṃkhya Saptati*. As a result the siddhāntas of the Sāṃkhyas were all destroyed. This caused general satisfaction and king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā gave Vasubandhu three lacs of gold. Paramārtha states that this king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā who at first patronised the Sāṃkhya school of philosophy was induced by Vasubandhu to take an interest in Buddhism and to send his queen with the Crown Prince Bālāditya to study under the famous teacher. When Bālāditya became king he invited Vasubandhu to Ayodhyā and favoured him with special patronage. Vasubandhu died at that city aged eighty. According to Hiuen Tsang, Vasubandhu and his master Manor-hita or Buddhāmītra flourished 'within the thousand years after the Buddha's decease. This, taking the Chinese reckoning at the time, would place the dates of the Śāstra Masters before A.C. 150 (vide Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. 1, p. 213 also p. 347, and also Rev. Beal in Hiuen Tsang's Records).

Mr. Allan remarks (*Gupta Coins*, p. XLIX, f) 'the memory of Skandagupta and his victory over the Huns seems to be preserved in the story of king Vikramāditya in Bk. XVIII (Somadeva's *Kathā-Sarīt-Sāgara*). Mahendrāditya is king of Ujjain at a time when the Mlecchas were overrunning the earth, afflicting even the gods with their oppressions; a son named Vikramāditya... is born to him, who becoming king on his father's abdication utterly routs the Mlecchas... it is worth noting that the historical kernel of the story exactly agrees with Skandagupta's Bhitari and Junagadh inscriptions; Mahendrāditya is the well-established āditya title of Kumāragupta I and Vikramāditya of Skandagupta, while the Mlecchas are the Hunas of the Bhitari inscription and the Mlecchas of the Junagadh inscription. Skandagupta, moreover, did succeed his father when the Mlecchas were threatening the ruin of the country.' From the *Camḍragarbha paripīcchā* (the text preserved in the Kangyur) cited by Lama Buston in his *History of Buddhist Doctrine* we get a vivid description of Skandagupta's wars. King Mahendrasena (Mahendrāditya, Kumāragupta I) who was born in the country of Kauśāmbī, had a son of irresistible might. After his son's (Skandagupta's) victory over the three foreign powers--the Yavanas, Pahlīkas and Sakunas (the Hunas, the Sassanians and the Kusanas, according to Jayaswal, *Imp. Hist. of India*, p. 36)--who invaded in concert his father's kingdom, king Mahendrasena crowned Skandagupta saying 'henceforth rule the kingdom' and himself retired to religious life. For twelve years after this the new king fought these foreign enemies and ultimately captured and executed the three kings. After this he ruled peacefully as the emperor of Jambudvīpa. From this account it follows that Skandagupta defeated the enemies in Saṃ. 136 (as his own inscription and his father's coins are dated in that year) when Kumāragupta placed him on the throne and himself retired to religious life. But the ultimate victory over the foreign enemies occurred after twelve years in Saṃ. 148. For some years after Saṃ. 148 he ruled peacefully as the emperor of Jambudvīpa. It was therefore after Saṃ. 148 that Skandagupta Vikramāditya (of Śrāvastī) distributed five lacs of gold coins among the poor. The religious controversy of Buddhāmītra with Vindhyavāsa therefore occurred at Skandagupta's court sometime after Saṃ. 148 when he finally defeated the enemies. For, after this date Skandagupta once lost his track while ahunting in the forest and rewarded the peasant who put him on the track with a lac of gold coins. Manor-hita once paid his barber a like sum for shaving his head and the State annalist had made a record of the circumstance. This fact wounded the king's pride and being desirous to bring public shame on Manor-hita, the king invited

the religious controversy between the Buddhist Manor-hita and the non-Buddhists.

The three foreign powers known under the common name 'Mlecchas' inflicted a terrible defeat on the armies of Kumāragupta in his western dominions where his brother Govindagupta was perhaps appointed as Viceroy during his later years and who was so powerful that, poetically speaking, even Kumāragupta was suspicious of his brother's power as we gather from the Mandasor inscription of Mālava-gaṇa year 524 = Gupta Vikrama year 124. These foreign powers destroyed a part of the Sun temple which was repaired in Mālava-gaṇa year 529. It seems the foreign powers succeeded in inflicting a terrible defeat on Kumāragupta's army headed by Govindagupta who seems to have been killed in battle in Gupta year 136. It was a great disaster for the Gupta dynasty resulting in their 'fortunes being shaken', 'the family being ruined' etc. ('*vicalita kula-Lakṣmī*', '*pracalitam vam-śam*' etc.) as stated in Skandagupta's inscriptions. In the Jaina accounts (the '*Kālakācārya Kathānaka*', the '*Prabhāvaka Carita*' etc.) it is stated that 135 years after Vikramāditya the Great the Śakas killed a descendant of him inflicting a crushing defeat and commemorated the event by introducing an era of their own. ('*tasya rājño anvaṣam hatvā vatsaraḥ sthāpitaḥ Sakaiḥ*') in current Vikrama Saṁ. 136 = A.C. 78. At this critical juncture Skandagupta asked for and got permission to lead his father's army and completely routed the foreign powers after which Kumāragupta crowned Skandagupta king and himself retired to religious life as stated in the 'Candra-garbha pari-prcchā'. This happened evidently in the same Gupta Vikrama year 136 as some of Kumāragupta's coins and Skandagupta's inscription are dated in that year. Alberuni also states that this date became famous as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant and was used as the epoch of an era. Evidently the era started by the Śakas (Śaka-nṛpa-kāla; Śaka-bhūpa-kāla etc.) was renamed as the era indicating the end of the Śakas (Śaka-nṛpānta-kāla). It seems in this great battle Skandagupta attacked the foreigners from the north and the Sātavāhana king Yajña-Śātakarṇi from the south and completely routed them. (All this will be dealt with in a separate paper entitled 'The Foundation of the Śaka Era'). As the Guptas had their own reckoning ('*Guptānām kālaḥ*') Skandagupta Vikramāditya did not feel the necessity of introducing a new reckoning. It was Yajña-Śrī Śātakarṇi who commemorated the event by introducing a new reckoning originally in Southern India known to the Hindus as the Śaka-nṛpānta kāla or shortly the (Śālivāhana) Śaka era. This will be evident from the statement in the *Matsya Purāṇa* where it is distinctly stated *nava varṣāṇi Yajña Śrīḥ kurute Śātakarṇikah* i.e. Yajña Śrī will introduce a new reckoning (the Śālivāhana Śaka era). This statement in the *Matsya Purāṇa* does not mean that Yajña-Śrī was reigning in his ninth year when the *Purāṇa* was compiled as suggested by Pargiter in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (p. xiii, f. 1), for, it goes against the prophetic nature of the puranic accounts. (The reign period of the Andhra kings from Gautamīputra to Yajña-Śrī as given by the *Purāṇas* is 92 years. As Gautamīputra ascended the throne about Saṁ. 46 when he extirpated the dynasty of Nahapāna, Yajña-Śrī ruled up to about Saṁ. (46+92, or) 138. This victory and subsequent crushing defeat of the Śakas in the same year find a parallel in modern Indian History in the Sikh battle of Chilianwala on 13th January 1849 in which the British army suffered a terrible defeat. The Sikhs described it as a virtual victory for them. When the news of this battle reached England it created a panic. The Duke of Wellington then in his eightieth year expressed his willingness to go to India to save the situation. The Afghans were hurrying up to join the Sikhs under the terms of a secret treaty. But the Britishers inflicted a crushing defeat on 20th February, 1849, in the battle of Gujerat, a village near Chilianwala whereby the Sikhs were completely subjugated and the permanent annexation of the Punjab followed.

The late Prof. K. B. Pathak in his "Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 244) states, 'In the Gupta year 129 during the reign of Kumāragupta, a Bhikṣu Buddhamitra installed an image of Buddha at Mankuwar and the inscription in the pedestal of the image tells us that Buddha was not refuted in respect of his opinion. This shows that this Buddhist Bhikṣu was so famous for his learning that no contemporary Brahmin scholar, however eminent, could venture to attack Buddhism.... I, therefore, conclude that this Bhikṣu Buddhamitra of the Mankuwar inscription was identical with the Buddhamitra who was the teacher of Vasubandhu, the latter being contemporary with Kumāragupta as I have already shown. Another inference which I draw from the expression

'*Sva-mat-āviruddhasya*' applied to Buddha in the inscription is that the religious controversy in which Buddhāmītra was so signally defeated by Viṇḍhyavāsa that the reigning sovereign transferred the patronage from Buddhism to Brahmanism could not have taken place in the reign of Candragupta Vikramāditya as in that case the statement that Buddha was not refuted in respect of his opinions could not have been accepted true by the people in the time of Kumāragupta. We are, therefore, justified in concluding that the religious controversy took place in the time of Skandagupta Vikramāditya'. It will, therefore, be seen that Prof. Pathak's findings are perfectly true.

That this Buddhāmītra of the Mankuwar inscription is identical with Vasubandhu's master Buddhāmītra will be evident from another consideration. The name of Vasubandhu's master as given by Hiuen Tsang is Manor-hita (Julien, Beal and others) or Mano-riddha (Watters). According to Beal and others the word literally stands for 'comfortable (*hita*) to thought (*manas*--mind)'. But it seems to me that the real rendering should be '*Mata*---Opinion, not *manas*' and *aviruddha* (i.e. *hita*). (In the Indian medical science there are two types of diet--one *hita* or *aviruddha* and the other *ahita* or *viruddha*) i.e. (*sva*-) *matā-viruddha* which was therefore, the title of Vasubandhu's master Buddhāmītra. This title was used by the people like 'Mahendrāditya', 'Bālāditya' etc. All this proves conclusively that Buddhāmītra of the Mankuwar inscription is identical with Vasubandhu's master 'Buddhāmītra mat-āviruddha'.

From the evidence of the *Candra-garbha-paripṛcchā* we conclude that Skandagupta ruled for some years after Saṁ. 148 in peace. From the Sarnath Buddhist image inscription we learn that Kumāragupta was still living in Saṁ. 154 (*bhūmim rakṣati Kumāragupte*) probably at Kāśī leading a religious life. Kumāragupta I therefore seems to have died about Saṁ. 155 when there was a fratricidal struggle between Skanda and Budha in which Skanda came out victorious as we gather from the Bhitari and Junāgaḍh inscriptions. The date of the composition of the Bhitari and Junāgaḍh inscriptions is about Saṁ. 155 after Kumāra I's death. The first part of the Junāgaḍh inscription ending with line 23 narrates the restoration of the embankment of the Lake Sudarṣana in G. E. 137. The second part beginning with line 24, unfortunately much damaged, narrates the building of a temple on the top of the hill Ūrjayat (Girnār) of Cakra-bhṛt (Viṣṇu) in G. E. 138 (line 27) and in line 28 is narrated the construction of another temple (*anyacca mūrdhani su*). But the portion following is unfortunately damaged beyond recognition and hence the date of its construction cannot be made out. This date seems to have been Saṁ. 155 (the word 'grantha' used for the composition at the end of the inscription seems significant implying that it was the 'stringing together' i.e. 'grantha' of different events). But it seems about the next year the fratricidal struggle again commenced in which Budhagupta came out victorious and seized the throne evidently from Skandagupta, as we learn from Hiuen Tsang's statement 'after Śakrāditya's (Kumāra I's) decease his son Budha (Fo-to)-gupta-rāja seized the throne' (Life of Hiuen Tsang by his disciple Hwui Li, translated by the Rev. Beal, p. 119). We have the Sarnath inscription of Budhagupta dated Saṁ. 157. Mr. S. K. Saraswati (*Ind. Cul.* April, 1935, pp. 691-92) has shown that the name in the gold coin read as 'Pura' is really 'Budha'. In the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* also there is no mention of any king by name 'Pura' after 'Skanda'. (The late Jayaswal notices this fact in his *Imp. Hist. of India*, p. 38.) The next king mentioned there is evidently 'Budha' wrongly spelt as '*Bibidhākhyo*' or '*Nirdhākhye*' (*-nrpaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ buddhimān dharmavatsalaḥ*--verse 647) whose son (descendant) (*tasyāpyanujah*) in the next verse is stated as Bālāditya (*Bālākhyah*) thus verifying Hiuen Tsang's statement. Hiuen Tsang does not mention the name of Skandagupta after Śakrāditya owing probably to his hatred for him as he was the cause of the defeat of Buddhāmītra. So that Hiuen Tsang's statement "A little afterwards Vikramāditya-rāja lost his kingdom and was succeeded by one who widely patronised these distinguished for literary merit" refers to Skandagupta Vikramāditya of Śrāvastī and Budhagupta Śrī Vikrama of Ayodhyā who seized the throne from the former. This Budhagupta Śrī Vikrama at first patronised the Sāṁkhya school of Philosophy. But after Vasubandhu's victory after he wrote his *Paramārtha Saptati* Budhagupta was induced by Vasubandhu to take an interest in Buddhism and sent his queen with the Crown Prince Bālāditya to study under the famous teacher (Vasubandhu). Budhagupta reigned

from c. Sam. 157-180. The last coin date of Budhagupta is Sam. 180 (vide Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, vol. IX, p. 25 f., also vol. X, p. 112). The Nālandā seal of Budhagupta (*Memoirs Arch. Sur. of India*, No. 66, 'Nālandā and its Epigraphic Materials' by H. Sastri, p. 64 also Plate VIII) is spurious as will be evident on looking at the figure of Garuḍa whose head is seen bent towards the right and the left leg is placed much towards the right, quite unlike all other seals in Plate VIII and the Bhitari seal where the head and the legs of the Garuḍa are symmetrically placed on both sides of the central line of the body. Moreover, lines 6 to 8 (and the letters) where the name of Budhagupta occurs are much irregular and disproportionate in comparison with the first five lines, quite unlike all other seals of the Imperial Guptas, where the lines and letters are very symmetrically drawn. This seal seems to be the result of an attempt by some one who wanted to find a solution of the confused chronology of the Imperial Guptas after Skandagupta resulting from Dr. Fleet's theory. The name of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya's father in the seals has now been read (confirming Gen. Cunningham's reading) as Purugupta. Puru seems evidently to be the shortened form of 'Puru (or-rū) ravas' who was the first saintly monarch (Rājarsi) of the lunar dynasty (Candra-vaṁśa), the son of Budha i.e. Budhaputra, who figures as the hero in Kālidāsa's play *Vikramorvaśyam*. So that 'Puru (ravas) gupta' is the same as 'Budha (-putra) gupta'. Accepting this identity the chronology of the Imperial Guptas after Skandagupta is made as clear as possible, thus supporting Hiuen Tsang's statement with the evidence of the seals and inscriptions. It seems when Budhagupta died Bālāditya was still a minor. Hence his uncle Gha-ṭo-tka-ca-gu-pta acted as a regent for a short time. Hiuen Tsang states that Budhagupta was succeeded by 'Ta-ta-ka-ta-ku-ta' rendered as Tathāgatagupta which seems to be a copyist's error for the real name Gha-ṭo-tka-ca-gu-pta who therefore ruled for a short period from Sam. 181-185 or thereabout. From the evidence of the gold coin bearing the name 'Gha-ṭo' Mr. Allan correctly states that this king Gha-ṭo-tka-ca-gu-pta "must be contemporary with those (kings) known from the Bhitari seal" (i.e. Budha, Narasimha and Kumāra II). Bālāditya then ruled from c. Sam. 185-210 about. Narasimhagupta Bālāditya's son was Kumāragupta II. He therefore succeeded to the throne about Sam. 210 and ruled till c. Sam. 230. The name of the king restored as Kumāragupta in the Damodarpur plate of Sam. 224 is evidently correct. Hiuen Tsang states the name of Bālāditya's son as 'Vajra' transliterated as 'Chin-kang' meaning 'Vajra-pāṇi' or 'Vajra-hasta' but seems to me to stand for 'Śakti-hasta' which is a synonym of Kumāra (or, Kārttikeya), thus exactly verifying the statement in the Bhitari and Nālandā seals that Narasimhagupta's son was Kumāragupta (II). This Kumāragupta's son was Mahārājādhirāja Viṣṇugupta which name is initialled in the *Māñju-Srī-mūla-kalpa* as 'Śrīmān U' i.e. Viṣṇ U Gupta. He ruled till c. Sam. 240 when the break up of the Gupta Empire began as attested to in the *Māñju-Srī-mūla-kalpa*. In the Jaina accounts it is stated that the Guptas ruled for about 240 years. The successor of Viṣṇugupta seems to be Mahārāja (not Mahārājādhirāja) Śrīgupta (c. Sam. 241-). The reading on silver coins '(Śrī) Mahār(āja) (Ha)riguptasya' which Mr. Allan characterises as 'very uncertain' may really be '(Śrī) Mahārāja Śrīguptasya' and these coins may really belong to Mahārāja (Great king) Śrīgupta (Che-li-ki-to) mentioned in I-tsing's *Memoirs* (composed A.C. 691-92) as having flourished about five hundred years before in c. A.C. 191 = Sam. 250 about.

Ācārya Sthiramati was one of the famous disciples of Vasubandhu the 21st patriarch. Sthiramati wrote commentaries on all the works of his master. He is mentioned in the Wala grant of Dharasena II as having built a Vihāra through Dharasena's father Guhasena (c. Sam. 240) (*Ācārya-bhadanta-Sthiramati-kārita-bappapāḍīya vihāre*). The identity of this Sthiramati of the Wala grant with the Ācārya Sthiramati, the famous disciple of Vasubandhu is accepted by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 9), Rev. Beal (*Hiuen Tsang's Records*, vol. II, p. 268), Wassilief (*Der-Buddhismus*, p. 78), Max Müller *India*, p. 305) and by several other eminent scholars.

Thus Buddhāmītra flourished from c. Sam. 120-155, Vasubandhu from c. Sam. 155-200 and Sthiramati from c. Sam. 200-245. It is therefore perfectly consistent to assume that Buddhāmītra of the Mankuwar inscription and Ācārya bhadanta Sthiramati of the Wala grant are identical with the two famous Buddhist Ācāryas of these names. Vikrama Sam. 200 = A.C. 142. This date of Vasubandhu is perfectly consistent with Hiuen Tsang's state-

ment on the dates of Vasubandhu and his master Buddhāmītra who according to Hiuen Tsang flourished before A.C. 150. Thus only on the identity of the Gupta Vikramāditya and the well-known Vikramāditya eras the dates of Vasubandhu, Bālāditya, Mihirakula, etc. as preserved by Hiuen Tsang come out exactly true.

From the various Chinese accounts collected by the late Sylvain Levi (*Journal Asiatique*, 1896-97, Ser. II. vol. VIII, pp. 449-89, also IX, pp. 1-42) we learn that Āśvaghōṣa was a contemporary of king Kaniṣka (1-23) and a predecessor of Nāgārjuna. Another Indian Buddhist tradition places Nāgārjuna as a contemporary of Huviṣka (Sām. 31-60). From the Rev. S. Beal's 'Succession of Buddhist Patriarchs' compiled chiefly from Taranath's *History of Buddha* and some Chinese fragments scattered through various books (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, pp. 118-19) we know that Nāgārjuna was a contemporary of Vikramāditya. In the Tibetan work 'Pag-sam-jon-zang' being a History of the rise, progress and downfall of Buddhism in India compiled chiefly from ancient Tibetan works on Buddhism extant in China we read that at the time when Candragupta was ruling the Eastern country (Prācya) there was a king called Kanika towards the West-Delhi and Mālwa. The late Mm. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa took Āśvaghōṣa and Kaniṣka to be contemporaneous with Candragupta I (Sām. I-c. Sām. 26) of the Gupta dynasty. From Dr. Walleser's 'The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources' (Reprint from *Asia Major*, Hirth Anniversary Volume) we learn that Nāgārjuna was a contemporary of Candra of the Candra (Gupta) family. Dr. Walleser identified Candragupta with Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Nāgārjuna's younger contemporary was Āryadeva who we know from Buddhist traditions was the Rector of Nālandā during the reign of the Gupta monarch Candragupta (II Vikramāditya, Sām. 60-93). Again from the History of Buddhist Patriarchs we know that Āryadeva was the fourth Patriarch in succession from Āśvaghōṣa (Āśvaghōṣa-Kia pi mo lo-Nāgārjuna-Āryadeva) Āryadeva being contemporary of Candragupta II (Sām. 60-93), Āśvaghōṣa was evidently a contemporary of Candragupta I (Sām. 1-c. 26) and also of Kaniṣka (Sām. 1-23) and the contemporaneity of Candragupta I and Kaniṣka follows as clearly as possible. Again, Nāgārjuna's famous poem *Suhṛtlekha* (Letter to an intimate friend) was addressed to the Śātavāhana king whose name in Chinese has been read as 'Ga-ta-ka' but seems to me to be 'Go-tami', i.e. Gautamīputra Śātakaṁṇi who was ruling in Sām. 46 when he extirpated the dynasty of Nalhapāna. Bāṇa in his *Harṣa-carita* (Bk. VIII) applied the epithet 'tri-samudrādhipati' to the Śātavāhana friend of Nāgārjuna 'which cannot fail to remind one of Gautamīputra Śātakaṁṇi whose chargers drank the water of the three oceans (*tri-samudra-toya-pita-vāhana*) as stated in his inscriptions. Sūra and Śāntideva were two pupils of Āryadeva. From an inscription of Guhasena of Valabhī (Sām. 240) we know that Bhaṭārka, the general of Skandagupta (Sām. 135-155) erected a viḥāra and presented it to Ācārya Sūra. We know from the Gunaighar inscription of Sām. 188. that Ācārya Śāntideva 'lived before this time. All this proves the contemporaneity of Gautamīputra Śātakaṁṇi (Sām. 46), Samudragupta (c. Sām. 27-58), Candragupta (II Vikramāditya) (Sām. 60-93) and Huviṣka (Sām. 31-60), and shows as clearly as possible that the Guptas and the Kusanas used the same era. General Cunningham also in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Vol. I, p. 10, states 'the inscriptions of Gautamīputra-Śātakaṁṇi and Pulumāyī clearly belong to the same period as the well-known Gupta inscriptions.' Palaeographic and numismatic evidence do support the contemporaneity of the Kusanas and the Guptas. Thus Sir R. G. Bhandarkar placed Kaniṣka's accession only 40 years before Candragupta I, in A.C. 278 according to Fleet's epoch and Dr. R. C. Majumdar only 70 years before Candragupta II, in A.C. 248 following Fleet's theory. Dr. Bühler fully noticed the remarkable similarity of the letters of the Kusana and Gupta periods. Dr. Oldenberg says 'It is one of the earliest known and best established facts within the sphere of Indian numismatics that this (the Kusana coinage) is the place from which the very important coinage of the Gupta dynasty branches off'. He further added that the vacant period between Vāsudeva (Sām. 78-98) and the Guptas, is already (by placing Kaniṣka in A.C. 78) perhaps greater than might be expected. Vincent Smith also remarks 'the close relationship in weight, type and palaeography between the coins of the Imperial Gupta dynasty and those of the Kusana kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva is obvious and has always been recognised'. The Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitakas states that the Parthian monk An-shih-kaō (A.C. 148-170, in China) translated the Mārga-bhūmi-sūtra of Samgharakṣa, the Chaplain of Kaniṣka. This shows conclusively that Kaniṣka flourished

long before A.C. 148. The only era which might have been therefore used by the Kusanas and therefore by the Guptas is the Saka Era of 78 A.C. But none of the astronomical details of the Gupta and the Kusana inscriptions can be verified with this epoch, and the only other era earlier than this is the well-known Vikrama era of 58 B.C. which suits exactly the astronomical details. It should be noted that all the Kusana records are by private persons, Jains or Buddhist votaries, none are official. The Jains previously used the (Mahā-) Vira era from the date of the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (528 B.C.). But after Vikramāditya who became a follower of the Jaina saint Siddhasena the Jains exclusively used the Vikrama Saṁvat of 58 B.C. This, together with the fact that all detailed dates of the Kusanas work out correctly on the Vikrama era, go towards proving the old theory started by Gen. Cunningham and taken up by Dr. Fleet that the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. is used in the Kusana records. From numerous other pieces of evidence of a varied nature it may be shown that the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramādityas in the well-known Vikramāditya era of 58 B.C.

A list of several Buddhist and other Ācāryas with their contemporary Gupta, Kusana, Śātavāhana and other kings is shown in a tabular form below.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE

<i>Buddhist and Other Ācāryas.</i>	<i>Imperial Guptas.</i>	<i>Kusanas.</i>	<i>Āndhra Kings.</i>
<p>Āśvaghoṣa, Vasumitra,</p> <p>Dinnāga, a disciple of Vasu-mitra (not of Vasu- bandhu),</p> <p>Kālidāsa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva</p>	<p>Candragupta I (Saṁ. 1-c. Saṁ. 26)</p> <p>Samudragupta (c. Saṁ. 27-58)</p> <p>Rāmāgupta (c. Saṁ. 59) Candragupta II (Saṁ. 60-93)</p>	<p>Kaniṣka (Saṁ. 1-23) Vasiṣka (Saṁ. 24-29)</p> <p>Huviṣka (c. Saṁ. 30-60) Kanika or Kaniṣka II (c. Saṁ. 61-73) Vāsudeva (Saṁ. 74-98)</p>	<p>Hāla (c. Saṁ. 6-10) Mantalaka = Maṇṭa-rāja of Kaurāla (Kur- nool) Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (Saṁ. 46)</p>
<p>Buddhamitra (c. Saṁ. 120-155)</p> <p>Śūra Śāntideva</p> <p>Asaṅga</p> <p>Vasubandhu (c. Saṁ. 155-200)</p>	<p>Kumārāgupta (Saṁ. 93-136)</p> <p>Skandagupta (Saṁ. 136-c. Saṁ. 155) (Puru (-ravaṣ) gupta = Budha (-putra) gupta (Saṁ. 157-c. Saṁ. 180) Gha-to-tka-ca-gu- pta (c. Saṁ. 181-184) Narasimhagupta Bālāditya (c. Saṁ. 185-210) Kumārāgupta II (c. Saṁ. 211-230) Viṣṇugupta (c. Saṁ. 230-240) Śrī-gupta (Che-li- ki-to of I-tsing) (c. Saṁ. 241-)</p>		<p>Yajña Śrī Śāta- karṇi (Saṁ. 109-138)</p>
<p>Sthiramati (c. Saṁ. 200-245)</p>			

(contd. from next page.)

Name of Staff Member	Name of research paper
Dr. L. Sternbach, LL.D., Ph.D.	(1) Veśyā, Synonyms and Aphorisms, <i>Bhāratiya Vidyā</i> IV, 2, <i>Bhāratiya Vidyā Miscellany</i> .
Prof. H. C. Bhayani, M. A.	(1) Two Apabhramśa Citations, <i>Bhāratiya Vidyā</i> , VI, 2. (2) MIA Miscellany, <i>Bhāratiya Vidyā</i> VI, 3-4. (3) Endingless Genitive in Apabhramśa, <i>Bhāratiya Vidyā</i> , VI, 5 (4) सादृश्य—भारतीय विद्या III. (5) हेमचन्द्र अने विरहङ्क, —भारतीय विद्या III.
Dr. G. N. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D.	(1) Gurunpāla—A Patron of Vādi Vidyānanda, <i>Bhāratiya Vidyā</i> , VI, 2.
Shri U. S. Bhatnagar, M.A.	(1) 'मीरा' नामपर भ्रान्ति, राजस्थान साहित्य.

WORKS UNDER PREPARATION

(a) Bharatiya Vidya Series.

वायुपुराण critically edited by Dr. A. D. Pusalker

पउमचरिय (Jaina Rāmāyaṇa) edited by Shri H. C. Bhayani.

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(c) Bharatiya Vidya Memoirs

The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Part II and IV to VII.

(d) Singhi Jain Series,—General Editor: Acharya Jinavijayaji

(१) नेमिचन्द्रकृत षष्ठीशतक (पृथक पृथक ३ बालवबोधयुक्त), (२) शीलांकाचार्य विरचित महापुरुष चरित्र (प्राकृत महाग्रंथ), (३) चंदपहचरियं (प्राकृत), (४) नम्मयासुंदरीकथा (प्राकृत) (५) नेमिनाहचरिय (अपभ्रंश महाग्रंथ), (६) उपदेशपटीका (वर्द्धमानाचार्य कृत), (७) निर्वाण-लीलावती कथा (संस्कृत कथा ग्रंथ), (८) सनत्कुमारचरित्र (संस्कृत काव्यग्रंथ), (९) भोजचरित्र—राज-वल्लभ पाठककृत, (१०) वाग्भटालंकारवृत्ति—प्रमोदमाणिक्यकृत, (११) विदग्धमुखमण्डनवृत्ति—सोमदेवादिकृत, (१२) वृत्तरत्नाकरवृत्ति, (१३) पाण्डित्य दर्पण, (१४) पुरातन प्रबन्ध संग्रह—हिन्दी भाषांतर, (१५) भानुचन्द्रगणिकृत विवेक—विलासटीका, (१६) पुरातन रासभासादिसंग्रह, (१७) प्रकीर्ण वाङ्मय प्रकाश, (१८) भद्रबाहुसूरिकृत भद्रबाहुसंहिता, (१९) सिद्धिचन्द्रोपाध्यायविरचित वासवदत्ता-टीका, (२०) जयसिंह-सूरिकृत धर्मोपदेशमाला, (२१) देवचन्द्रसूरिकृत मूलशुद्धि-प्रकरणवृत्ति, (२२) रत्नप्रभाचार्यकृत उपदेशमाला-टीका, (२३) यशोविजयोपाध्यायकृत अनेकान्तव्यवस्था, (२४) जिनेश्वराचार्यकृत प्रमालक्षण, (२५) महा-निशीथसूत्र, (२६) तरुणप्रभाचार्यकृत आवश्यकबालवबोध, (२७) राठोड-वंशावलि, (२८) उपदेशगच्छ-प्रबन्ध, (२९) नयचन्द्रसूरिकृत हमीरमहाकाव्य, (३०) वर्द्धमानाचार्यकृत गणरत्नमहोदधि, (३१) प्रतिष्ठा-सोमकृत सोमसौभाग्यकाव्य.

(e) Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Publications.

शाहनाम.

टोलेरनां नाटके: अनुवादक,

श्री. त्रिभुवनदास धुडार.

गुजराती कीर्तिगाथा—Translation of the
Glory that was Gurjaradesha.

**List of Research Papers prepared by members of
the Bhavan's Staff during the Year.**

Name of Staff Member	Name of research paper
Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni	<p>(૧) રનેહરમરણવિષયક કેટલાંક ગ્રામીન સુભાષિતો. (૨) ભાષ્યકાર-જનભદ્રગણિનો સુનિશ્ચિત સમય. (૩) ચાલુક્ય ભીમદેવ પ્રથમનું સંવત્ ૧૧૨૦ નું એક અપ્રસિદ્ધ તામ્રપત્ર. (૪) ભીમદેવનો સંવત્ ૧૦૮૭ નો એક અપ્રકાશિત શિલાલેખ. (૫) કવિ આસિગકૃત જીવદયારાસ. (૬) પ્રીતિવિષયક કેટલાંક ગ્રામીન ભાષા સુભાષિતો. (૭) શૃંગારશત-શૃંગારરસવર્ણનમય એક ગ્રામીન ગુજરાતી કાવ્ય. (૮) લક્ષ્મણકૃત સિધરાય જોસંધયેકવિત. (૯) ગુણાદ્ય કવિની બૃહદ્કથાનો આદિશ્લોક. (૧૦) આજડે કરેલી પ્રાકૃત ભાષાની વ્યાખ્યા (All published in <i>ભારતીય વિદ્યા</i> Vol. III).</p>
Pandit Sukhlalji	<p>(૧) પ્રતિભામૂર્તિ સિદ્ધસેન દિવાકર (૨) શ્રીસિદ્ધસેન દિવાકરના સમયનો પ્રશ્ન. (૩) સિદ્ધસેન દિવાકર કૃત વેદવાદ દ્વાત્રિશિકા (All published in <i>ભારતીય વિદ્યા</i> Vol. III).</p>
Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, M.A., LL.B., Ph. D.	<p>(1) Indus Valley civilization Ch. 6: Age and authors (Extension Lecture). (2) Two seventeenth Century Works on Bhasa: <i>Poona Orientalist</i>, VIII pp. 147-152. (3) Authenticity of the Bhasa plays: <i>Indian Culture</i>, XI pp. 11-24. (4) Phallus worship in Rgveda: <i>Prachyaavānī</i>, I, pp. 29-31. (5) Ujjayini in the Puranas: <i>Vikrama Memorial Volume</i>. (6) Dwārka: <i>B. C. Law Volume</i>. (7) Historical Data in the Kṛṣṇacarita (Summary) <i>Indian History Congress</i>, 1944. (8) A Survey of Puranic Literature, <i>Dictionary of World Literature</i>. (9) Indus Valley Civilization (<i>History of India</i>). (10) Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya Tradition, <i>Hiranna Comm. Volume</i>. (11) Aryan settlements in India, (<i>History of India</i>). (12) Traditional History from the earliest times to the accession of Pāṇikā, (<i>History of India</i>).</p>
Acharya T. A. V. Dikshitar	The Vedic Sacrifice and Temple Worship, <i>Bhāratiya Vidya Miscellany</i> .
Prof. A. S. Gopani, M. A.	<p>(1) A Note on the Ājivika Sect, <i>Bhāratiya Vidya</i>, IV, 2. (૨) નાણુ પંચમી કહા—તેની પ્રતિઓ વસ્તુ અને લેખકો, <i>ભારતીય વિદ્યા</i> Vol. III</p>

(contd. on previous page.)

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Dr. A. D. PUSALKER, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D.

Prof. JAYANTAKRISHNA H. DAVE, M. A., LL. B.

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'Cālukya' 'Caulukya' and
'Saulkika.'

Ap. Stem-enlarging suffix
'-uda-'

Ap. Agentives in '-yara.'

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Caturyuga = Generation.
Location of Lanka.

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BOMBAY 7.

RAIN COMPELLING RITES AND SONGS IN BIHAR

By Shri GANESH CHAUBEY.

Man, during his constant and continuous struggle against the elements of nature, devised various practices to gain control over them. Mr. B. L. Desai* informed us of a practice to compel rain in South Gujarat. In this note is given an account of the practice of a similar nature, from the Champaran District in Bihar, for whatever it is worth. It is called "Pani Mangana".

As in Gujarat, when rain fails to appear in time, women folk of the villages specially of labour classes namely of Kurmi, Nunia, Kahar, Chamar, Dusadh and Dhanukh castes, assemble at midnight near a well, catch some frogs¹ and keep them in an earthen pot. They parade through the whole village from house to house singing songs. The pot containing frogs is carried by one of the party. When they approach the house a female comes out from the house with a water pot, puts some water into the pitcher carried by the woman and sprinkles the remaining water on the party, thus imitating rainfall. Then she gives them some grains and the party proceeds to another house. The singing goes on for about an hour or two and when they disperse, they throw the pot with frogs in the court-yard of a quarrelsome woman, who often gives them showers of abuse and the party disperses with laughs and jeering. This practice is repeated for several days and on a Sunday or Tuesday night ploughing of a field by a Brahmin widow is arranged.² The plough is drawn by other females and the widow acts as a plough driver. The grains obtained from the householders are made over to the widow as her wages. While the ploughing is going on, singing continues. Afterwards they come to a well where an infant girl is seated on an overturned wooden mortar. She is made to fold her hand in which a frog is placed. It is adorned with vermillion and a lighted earthen lamp is put on its head. After a few minutes the girl begins to shake herself and she is believed to have been possessed by God Indra. Now the girl is questioned and she fixes a day for rain to fall. The rite is over and it is believed that rain must visit the date so fixed.*

A few specimen of rain inducing songs in Bhojpuri dialect are given below. They have been collected in the District of Champaran, which is mainly a rice producing area.

Plunging the Shiva Linga in water when other devices and prayers fail, is practised in South Gujarat. For similar practices see Fraser, J. G., 'Golden Bough', p. 77.

(१)

पछिम से घटा उमड़े
पुरुब चलि जाले, बदलवा बैरन ।
पुरुब से घटा उमड़े
पछिम चलि जाले, बदलवा बैरन ।

(1)

Cloud hovered about in the West,
And it rolled to the East, Oh ! Enemy Rain !
Cloud hovered about in the East,
And it rolled to the West, Oh ! Enemy Rain !

* Desai, B. L., *Jour. Guj. Res. Soc.* 1944, 22-27.

¹ Similar practice is to be observed in the Madras Presidency. See Fraser J. G., 'Golden Bough', p. 73.

² For similar practice in the Caucasus, see Fraser, 'Golden Bough', p. 70.

* The frog marriage and ploughing the field by naked Koch women is practised in Assam for inducing rains. In South India, water is sprinkled over a naked virgin.

(२)

सौंप छोड़ले सँप केचुर,
गंगा मइया छोड़ली अरार हो राम ।
सुदामा देवा छोड़ले अपनी मेहरिया,
पानी बिनु परले अकाल हो राम ।
दुनिया में परले अकाल हो राम ।

(2)

The snake has cast off its slough,
Mother Ganges has left her bank, O Rama !
Sudama Deva has left his wife,
Without rain, famine has broken out, O Rama !
In the world, the famine has broken out, O Rama !

(३)

छोड़ले रामफल देवा अपनी मेहरिया हो देवा,
से अन्न रे बिनु ।
अन्नबिनु ना रे देवा,
से पानी बिनु ।
रोअले सुकदेव पूता,
माई के मति छोड़ हो बाबू,
से पानी बिनु ।

(3)

Ramfal Deva has left his wife, O God !
for want of food stuffs ?
Not for want of food stuffs, O God !
but for want of water.
His son Sukdeva is weeping,
Don't leave my mother, Oh ! Father !
for want of water.

(४)

इनर देवा बड़ा बयमान,
जलबिनु केसरि सूखिय गइले ।
अब का करी भगवान,
जल बिनु केसरि सूखिय गइले ।

(4)

God Indra is very dishonest ;
Saffron has dried without rain.
What should I do, now, Oh ! Bhagawan !
Saffron has dried without rain.

(५)

हाली हाली बरस इनर देवता,
पानी बिनु परले अकाल हो राम ।

चँवर सूखल चाँवर सूखल,
 सूखल भइया के धान हो राम ।
 हड़िया ढब ढब पतुकी ढब ढब,
 ढकना लिहले अवतार हो राम ।
 घोबिया का नाद में छिप छाप पानी,
 बभना करे असनान हो राम ।
 अँठई के चिउरा गदही के दही,
 बभना करे जेवनार हो राम ।
 सूखलि गड़हिया में इनर अइले
 पनिया भेल छछकाल हो राम ।

(5)

Rain soon, rain soon, O God Indra,
 Famine has broken out, O Rama !
 Paddy field has dried up,
 Paddy crop of my brother has dried, O Rama !
 Earthenwares are producing ringing sound,
 Lid has taken incarnation, O Rama !
 There is shallow water in the tub of washerman,
 The Brahmin is bathing in it, O Rama !
 The flat rice of eight-legged insect and curd of she-ass,
 The Brahmin is taking as his food, O Rama !
 Indra visited the dried up ditch,
 And water began to overflow, O Rama !

(६)

अचरज भेल गोसाँई अचरज भेल,
 मरद पीसे मड़ुआ मेहरारु जोते हर ।
 छतिओ ना फाटे हो देव तोर छतियो ना फाटे,
 राइ बभनिआ हरवा जोतली हो देव ।

(6)

A wonder has taken place, Oh ! Lord !
 Male is grinding millet and female is ploughing field.
 Is not your heart moved with pity, Oh ! God !
 The widow Brahmini is ploughing the field.

(७)

राजवा के बेटवा रामनन्द देवा ना,
 दैया हाथी चढ़ि दैया हाथी चढ़ि देखे सनजीरवाना ।
 उनकर हरवहवा अकल्ल राम ना,
 दैया घने हरे, दैया घने हरे बोये सन जीरवाना ।
 राजवा के बेटिया सुशीला देइना,
 दैया पनिया, दैया पनिया लेजाली हरवहियाना ।
 भिखरा के बेटिया रामावती देइना,
 दैया छुदी चुनी दैया छुदी चुनी भेजे हरवहियाना ।

भिखरा के बेटिया रामावती देइना,
 दैया भेरखी पईचि बनवा जोखेलीना ।
 भिखरा के बेटिया रामावती देइना,
 दैया खँखड़ा, दैया खँखड़ा पईचि बनवा जोखेलीना ।
 भिखरा के बेटिया रामावती देइना,
 दैया सरले, दैया सरले कोदइया बनवा जोखेली ना ।
 उनकर हरवहवा अकल्ल रामना,
 दैया छितनी, दैया छितनी पटक बनवा छिटलेना ।

(7)

Ramanand Deva is son of the king,
 O Grand mother ! He mounted on elephant is seeing Sanjirwa paddy.
 His ploughman is Aklu Ram,
 O grand mother ! He is sowing Sanjirwa paddy after fully ploughing the field.
 Sushila Devi is daughter of the king,
 O Grand mother ! She is bringing water for ploughman.
 Ramavati is daughter of a beggar,
 O Grand mother ! She is sending broken rice for breakfast of ploughman.
 Ramavati is daughter of a beggar,
 O Grand mother ! She has winnowed weeds corn and weighed it as wages.
 Ramavati is daughter of a beggar,
 O Grand mother ! She has winnowed husks and weighed them as wages.
 Ramavati is daughter of a beggar,
 O Grand mother ! she has weighed rotten millet and weighed them as wages.
 Her ploughman is Aklu Ram,
 O Grand mother ! He threw the basket and scattered wages.

(The song throws light on the maltreatment meted to ploughman by the mistress of house.)

(8)

सबके हरवा अण्डे गोयंडे बहेरे,
 सिवनन्दन देवा के हरवा बहेल दस कोस रे ।
 जवले रामकेसी देइ पानी लेके धावेरे,
 दसो हरवहवा पिआसे मरि जाला रे ।
 जवले राम केसी देइ पाटी सरि आवे रे,
 तवले इनर देवा जल घहरावे रे ।

(8)

Ploughs of all are driven in vicinity of the village,
 Ploughs of Sheonandan Deva are being driven at the distance of ten *Kosh*.
 Till Ramkeshi Devi came running with water,
 All the ten ploughmen died of thirst.
 Till Ramkeshi Devi was arranging her parting hairs,
 God Indra sent bumper showers.

N. B.—Proper nouns in songs indicate the names of the agriculturists, their wives, their sisters and their ploughmen.

JURIDICAL STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW*

7. PLEDGE.

By Dr. LUDWIK STERNBACH.

CHAPTER IV. PLEDGES LIMITED AS TO TIME AND PLEDGES NOT LIMITED AS TO TIME

13. General Remarks.

The contract of a pledge may contain the time in which the debt and the pledge ought to be returned or does not contain this stipulation. Depending on this fact the contract of a pledge will be called limited or not limited as to time.

If the time in which the pledge must be returned is stipulated, the pledgor is obliged to return his debt to the pledgee in the stipulated time and the pledgee is obliged to return the pledge to the pledgor. Provided no other agreement is concluded, the pledgor, as well as the pledgee, are protected by the stipulation of the time in which the debt and the pledge must be returned. Accordingly the pledgor cannot be forced to repay the debt and the pledgee to accept the debt before the stipulated period.

This stipulation might be important for the pledgee too, as the giving of a loan secured by a pledge might be made for his sake in connection with the interest due to him.

In the event of the debt not being repaid in the stipulated period, the question arises as to whether the pledgor is guilty of non-repayment of the debt or whether he is innocent. Depending on that fact the manner in which the pledgee can be satisfied is regulated. In particular it must be made clear whether the pledge will become the property of the pledgee or will be sold and from the price obtained, the pledgee satisfied. This question is closely connected with the problem of whether the pledge is given in order to secure or to satisfy the pledgee's claim.

As far as the pledge not limited as to time is concerned, the question must be solved as to when the pledgee is entitled to claim the repayment of the debt and when the pledgor is entitled to repay the debt and claim the return of the pledge. This question is closely connected with the problem of the accruing of interest and limitation of the period during which payment of interest is obligatory.³⁷ The problem of satisfying the claims of the pledgee in the form of sale or appropriation of the pledge is in this case similar to the identical problem in the case of pledges limited as to time.

In pledges limited, as well as not limited as to time, the legal consequences depend on the wording of the relative contracts, in particular, whether the contract relates to pledges to be kept or to be used.

14. Definition.

N. (I-124) describes in the following manner these two kinds of pledges : कृतकालोपनेयश्च यावद्देयोद्यतस्तथा. Pledges which must be redeemed within a certain time agreed upon (कृत° + काल° + उप° + नेय°) i.e. pledges limited as to time, and pledges which must be returned when the debt has been discharged. (यवत्° + देय° + उद्° + यत्) i.e. pledges not limited as to time.

Asahāya (ad N. I-124) says :

तत्र कृतकालोपनेयो यः द्विप्रकारः । एको दीयमाने धने प्राप्तकालवधौ आधिपालैः समर्पयेयः । द्वितीयस्तु अतिपुण्यमाणो धनिना एवं विचार्य गृह्यते । यथा पञ्च वर्षाणि दश वा इत्यन्तं कालं.....न मोचनीयः । तत्परतो ऋणिके ॥

* Continued from page 164.

³⁷ See L. STERNBACH's *The Harmonising of Law with the Requirements of Economic Conditions* in ABORI XXIII, p. 528 sqq.

We see here that Asahāya divides pledges limited as to time into two subdivisions. According to the first—the pledge is given to the **आधिपाल** i.e. to the pledge-keeper who has to return it on the pledge being restored, at the time agreed on.³⁸ According to the second one, the pledge is delivered to the creditor on the condition of its being returned after the lapse of a certain period viz. five or ten years. It is not clear whether the **आधिपाल** is a third person or the pledgee himself; in any case these two subdivisions are of no great importance from the legal point of view.

It is evident from the definition contained in N. (I-124) what the *essentialia* of both these kinds of pledges are.

In the case of pledges limited as to time according to the contract concluded :

- (a) the time of the debt secured by the pledge is limited ;
- (b) after this time the pledge must be returned.

In the case of pledges not limited as to time :

- (A) No agreement was conducted regarding the time in which the debt and the pledge must be returned ;
- (B) as soon as the debt has been discharged.
- (C) the pledge must be restored.

15. Return of Debt and Pledge in Contracts of Pledges Limited as to Time.

As far as pledges limited as to time are concerned, the problem as to when the debt must be returned to the creditor and when the creditor has to return the pledge is not solved in the *Smytis*. This question must be solved by mutual agreement which, however, cannot be contradictory to the general rules regarding debts. In particular, this contract cannot be concluded for a very long period in consequence of which the interest would more than double the principal. If such a contract should be concluded, after the principal had doubled itself, the interest could not continue to accrue.³⁹

16. Acts which are Contradictory to Stipulations of Contracts of Pledge Limited as to Time.

It is evident from Brh. (X-71) and from the definition of pledges limited as to time that these pledges must be restored to the pledgor after the lapse of the stipulated period provided the debt has been repaid.⁴⁰ By mutual consent, however, it can be restored before the stipulated period, although Brh. does not say *expressis verbis* that the period to restore the pledge might be shortened by mutual agreement.

It is clear that the whole debt must be repaid, because when a portion only has been repaid,—regardless of whether it is a contract of a pledge limited or not limited as to time,—the pledgee is not obliged to return the pledge. This rule is the same as the rule "*pignoris causa est individua*", so well known in Roman law.⁴¹

This is not only introduced in order to protect the pledgee. As has already been said, the pledgee is also protected in case the pledgor wants to return his debt before the agreed period and in such a way does not pay the contracted interest. On the other side the pledgor is protected too, as the pledgee cannot claim his debt before the stipulated period.

This problem is regulated in an identical manner in N., Mn. and Brh. Although Mn. and N. relate rather to pledges to be used and Brh. to immovable pledges, we can admit that the respective rules are general rules which can be applied to all kinds of pledges.

³⁸ See J. JOLLY'S *Recht und Sittē*, p. 101 and his *Indisches Schuldrecht*, p. 298 sqq. ; J. J. MEYER'S *Das altindische Buch vom Welt und Staatsleben*, p. 785.

³⁹ See note 37.

⁴⁰ Vi. VI-8, K. 178/10.

⁴¹ Vi. (VI-8), Brh. in Col. p. 165, Nand. *ad* Vi. (VI-8) say that the agreement concerning the restoration of the pledge should be as follows : " You shall have the enjoyment of this or that mango grove as long as interest on the principal lent to me has not ceased to accrue ".

Brh. (X-70) says : यत्राधिकं गृहक्षेत्रं भोगेन प्रकर्षान्वितम् ।

तत्रर्णा चाप्नुयाद्दन्धं धनी चैव ऋण तथा ॥

When a house or field has been pledged for use and the stipulated period has not expired, the debtor cannot recover his property nor can the creditor recover his loan.

Mn. (VIII-143) and N. (I-129) say that the pledgee must not transfer or sell the pledge before the stipulated period has elapsed.⁴²

17. Date of Payment of Pledges not Limited as to Time.

As far as pledges not limited as to time are concerned, the ancient Indian sources of law say that whenever the debtor comes and restores the debt the pledgee must return the pledge. This is the opinion of Y. (II-62), Brh. (X-66) and K. (178/10).

Brh. (X-66) says : धनं मूलीकृतं दत्त्वा यदधि प्राथयेदणी ।

तदैव तस्य मोक्तव्यस्त्वन्यथा दोषभागधनी ॥

Ratnākara commenting on this para says that it relates to pledges to be used only. Vir. (p. 319) is also of the same opinion and says that as the restoration of the principal is only mentioned, this rule relates to pledges to be used. In the case of pledges to be kept interest has to be paid in addition to the principal.

This interpretation does not seem to be right. Brh. says न which means generally "debt" and not only "principal"; in case of pledges to be used धन will be the principal only but in case of pledges to be kept धन will be the principal with interest. We can admit, therefore, that Brh. (X-66) relates to pledges to be used as well as to pledges to be kept.

Halāyudha raises another problem : what will happen in the case of pledges to be used when the pledgor comes to repay the debt on the next day and asks for the restoration of the pledge. In this case the pledgee will be deprived *de facto* of interest. The reply to this question is easy ; the pledge must be restored. The pledgee did not secure his rights by limitation of the time in which the debt must be returned and must bear the consequences of his act.

If the pledgee, in spite of his obligation, does not return the pledge he is considered a thief (स्तेन) as Y. (II-62) says. This consideration of such a pledgee as a thief involves legal consequences *i.e.* a fine determined in Brh. in general terms only and in K. (178/10) as amounting to 12 *panas*.

K. says : उपस्थितस्याधिमप्रयच्छतो द्वादशपणो दण्डः ॥

It is the most general presentation of this problem which shows once again that these rules relate to pledges to be used as well as to pledges to be kept.

18. Repayment of Pledged Debt in case the Pledgee is Absent.

In Y. and K. another question is solved too *i.e.* what happens in the event of the pledgee being absent and the pledgor coming to restore the debt. This problem should be enlarged. Under the word "absent pledgee" we must also understand, according to Mit., Ratnākara and others, the case of the "pledgee having died."

In this case the debt should be accepted and the pledge restored. The question arises as to whom the debt should be repaid. It should be repaid to the person who is legally in charge of the pledge. Y. (II-62) says that it should be repaid to the family (कुल) and K. (178/11) says to the elders of the village (ग्रामवृद्ध) In both these cases it is a casuistic solution. In juridical language it should be said that in such a case the debt must be returned to the person who is legally in charge of the pledge or who is the legal successor of the pledgee.⁴³

⁴² This rule is not very clear and was extensively interpreted in various ways.

⁴³ J. J. MEYER'S *Ueber das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften* ... Leipzig, 1927, pp. 181-2.

If, however, the creditor is absent or dead and there is nobody who is entitled to take the debt, the pledgor has to :

- (a) appraise the whole of the pledge at the time of its restoration,
- (b) leave the pledge तत्र (there) i.e. with the pledgee.

If that has been done and

- (A) the creditor does not return the pledge,
- (B) the interest no longer accrues until the creditor restores the pledge, if it is a pledge to be kept ; if it is a usufructuary pledge the pledgee is no longer allowed to use the pledge.

That is the opinion of Y. (II-63) and K. (178/12-13).⁴⁴

19. Rights of Pledgees to satisfy their Claims if the Pledged Loan has not been Repaid.

These rules quoted above are to be used if the debt has been returned by the pledgor to the pledgee.

More important, however, is the problem of what will happen when the pledgor does not return the debt.

As far as pledges limited as to time are concerned this question is connected with the problem of the right of the pledgee to satisfy his claim from the pledge. This act can take place when the stipulated time has elapsed.

As far as pledges not limited as to time are concerned, the problem arises as to when the pledgee has the right to satisfy his claim from the pledge ; the solution will vary in the case of pledges to be kept and pledges to be used.

The problem of the right of the pledgee to satisfy his claim from the pledge not limited as to time is solved in the *Smṛtis* in a very unsatisfactory and confusing manner. We find contradictory rules which are very difficult to understand. They can be understood only when this problem has been solved separately for pledges to be kept and to be used.

As far as pledges to be kept and not limited as to time are concerned the problem is mentioned in Brh. (X-48 and 50) as well as in Y. (II-58) and Mn. (VIII-154), and as far as pledges to be used and not limited as to time are concerned—in Brh. (X-21), Y. (II-64), Vi. (VI-7) and Vyāsa (Col. 186).

a). In the case of Pledges to be kept and not Limited as to Time.

Pledges to be kept and not limited as to time become payable when the principal amount is doubled. When this occurs, according to some of the *Smṛtis* the pledgee is entitled to claim payment and according to others to satisfy his claim from the pledge. According to Brh. (X-48) the pledgee must wait for a fortnight, after this has occurred. After having waited for this period he becomes the owner of the pledge. According to Y. (II-58) the pledge lapses in this case i.e. as soon as the principal amount is doubled the pledgee becomes the owner of the pledge.

This discrimination is of no great importance from the legal point of view, because according to Brh. the debt becomes payable in a fortnight after the principal is doubled⁴⁵ and according to Y. as soon as the principal is doubled. Up to this moment the pledgor is entitled to claim the pledge given by him, provided at the same time he repays the principal due as well as the interest. After this term the pledgee is entitled to satisfy his claim by the act of appropriating the pledge. The lapse of time gives to the pledgee the *titulus acquirendi* of the pledged thing.

Mn. (VIII-145) says only that the pledge after a lapse of time becomes liable to appropriation. This opinion conforms with another *śloka* of Brh. (X-50) according to which the pledge to be kept may be used after the period, mentioned above, has elapsed.

⁴⁴ तत्कालेऽनमूय्यो वा तत्र तिष्ठद्विदिकः । (Y-II-63). निवृत्तद्विदिको वाऽऽधिस्तत् कालकृतमून्यस्तत्रैवावतिष्ठेत् । (K-178.12-13).

⁴⁵ See Brh. X-49.

Interpreting these various rules relating to pledges to be kept not limited as to time, we come to the conclusion that after the debt is doubled the pledgee is entitled to choose either to appropriate the pledge or to begin to use it, in order to satisfy his debt with interest.

b). In the case of Pledges to be used and not Limited as to Time.

The position in the case of pledges to be used and not limited as to time is quite different. The situation is reversed here.

Namely during the whole time the pledge was possessed by the pledgee, it was used and the pledgee defrayed the interest and obtained a profit in using the pledge. As, up to the moment of repayment of the debt, in case of pledges to be kept, the contract was concluded in the interest of the debtor, the contract of pledge to be used was concluded rather in the interest of the creditor. Therefore, if the pledgee by using the pledge and taking fruits from it (interest) doubled the principal as well as received the principal back, he was obliged to restore the pledge to the pledgor.

Y. (II-64) says : यदा तु द्विगुणीभूतमृणमाधौ तदा खलु ।

मोच्य आधिस्तद्वत्पन्ने प्रविष्टे द्विगुणे धने ॥

The opinion of Vi. (VI-7) and Vyāsa (Col. 186) is similar. Brh. (X-21) says that the use of the pledge after twice the principal has been realised from it—is usury and reprehensible.

c). Interest.

We saw that as far as pledges to be kept as well as pledges to be used are concerned, the time limit depends on the fact of whether the principal has been doubled or not. This is closely connected with the rules relating to interest. *Inter alia* the ancient Indian sources of law limited the admissibility of interest by introducing the time limit *viz.* determined up to what moment interest could accrue on the capital. There was a rule that the principal should not double.⁴⁶ If, therefore, in the case of ordinary debts the principal should not be doubled it should also not be doubled in the case when it was secured by a pledge. It is one more example which proves that the ancient Indian law solves all juridical problems in a consistent way.

d). Pledges Limited as to Time.

As far as pledges limited as to time are concerned, Brh. only outlines what to do in the case when the pledgor does not repay the debt. Brh. in book X. (48 and 50) solves this problem in a similar way as in the case of pledges not limited as to time *viz.* after the principal has been doubled the pledge may be used or the pledgee may appropriate the pledge after having waited for a fortnight. It is clear that these rules refer to pledges to be kept.

It is not very clear whether *śloka* 49 of book X. of Brh. (according to which such pledges on which interest have ceased become the property of the pledgee after ten days), refers to pledges to be used or whether this rule is only slightly different from that contained in *śloka* 48.

e). Not Repayment of Pledged Debts "Ex Causa" and "Sine Causa".

From the remarks mentioned above it is evident that pledges to be kept, as well as pledges to be used, according to Brh., are not sold if the debt has not been repaid, in order to satisfy the pledgee's claim, but the pledgee becomes owner of the pledge. Therefore, we can say that according to Brh. the pledge is given to the pledgee in order to satisfy his claim not by realising the value of the pledged thing, but by appropriation.

⁴⁶ See note 37. It should be noted that from Kāty. 541 it can be guessed that "if one mortgages or pledges with the express stipulation that when the principal rises to double, he would pay double the money but would not lose the property mortgaged or pledged, then the creditor is only entitled to double the principal, but not to the property." (See Kane's Kātyāyana's Smṛti A.D. 541.)

It is not clear whether the same rule applies to Mn. and N., because both these *Smṛtis* do not mention this problem. It might be deduced from Mn. (VIII-143) and N. (I-149)⁴⁷ that it was possible that the pledgee also satisfies his claim by realising the value of the pledged thing.

These rules apply to the problem of not repaying debts by a "not guilty act".

If the debtor is guilty of not repaying his debt secured by a pledge, then according to N. (I-132/133) the king shall compel him to pay it by forcible means and shall take five per cent for himself. If he acknowledges the debt with his own mouth, the king shall take ten per cent as fine and twenty per cent if he was adjudged to pay after denial of the debt. This rule is repeated in Mn. (VIII-139), Y. (II-44), Vi. (VI-20-22). Brh. (X-93, 99), Yāma (in Vivādaratnākara, p. 78) etc. It is not clear, however, if it relates to debts secured by a pledge or to debts in general.

It is clear when interpreting the respective rules of the *Smṛtis* that if the debtor is not guilty of non-repayment of the debt, the pledge cannot be appropriated by the pledgee but must be sold.

Brh. (X-51/52) in particular says that there is no fault on the part of the debtor, as far as non-repayment of the debt is concerned, if he is not present or has died; (in this case the heirs are not responsible for the obligations of the deceased). The same opinion is expressed in Y. (II-63 *in fine*) and Kāty. (529). G. (XII-33) adds a case where a pledgor is forcibly prevented from repaying the debt *i.e.*, according to Haradatta *e.g.* in the case of imprisonment by the king or others, or the like. In this case according to Brh. (X-51) and Y. (II-63) the pledge should be sold in the presence of witnesses even without the presence of the debtor and according to Kāty. (529) by the king (identically Viv.). Brh. (X-52) adds that the pledge can also be estimated in an assembly kept for ten days, and then sold. In any case if the pledge has been sold, the debtor should not take more than to cover his demand (principal and interest). The surplus (*hyperocha*) must be returned to the pledgor or deposited with the king (Viv.).

When this sale takes place it is clear from the general rules *viz.* as far as pledges limited as to time are concerned—after the lapse of the stipulated period (Y. II-62/63) and as far as pledges not limited as to time are concerned—when the debt is doubled (Brh. X-51).

In this connection a general rule regarding the repayment of debts should be mentioned. According to N. (I-131 and 134) when a debtor has been prevented by bad luck from repayment of the debt he shall be made to repay it gradually according to his means and if it occurred through a calamity the claim of the debtor shall be entered in a written bond. The first part of this rule is also repeated in Mn. (VIII-177, IX-229) and Y. (II-43). The commentators of ancient times interpret this rule applying the *analogiam ex maiori ad minus viz.* if the pledgor is unable to restore a pledged loan, he has to restore it successively, as best he can.

The rule, therefore, is as follows: if the debtor does not repay the pledged loan at the moment it becomes payable—the pledged thing can be appropriated by the pledgee irrespective of its value, that means without the obligation to pay *hyperocha*. If, however, the non-repayment of the pledged loan was caused by an unguilty act on the part of the pledgor, the pledged thing can be publicly sold with the obligation to pay the *hyperocha*.

If the pledgor is guilty of non-repayment of the pledged loan, he can be forced to repay it, and if he is unable to repay it without his guilt, he can be ordered to restore it in instalments.

CHAPTER V. PLEDGE BASED ON GOOD FAITH

20. Religious Interpretation.

This kind of pledge is to be found in Y. (II-61) only. The respective *śloka* is not clear and is commented on different ways. चरित्रबन्धककृतं स वृद्धया दापयेद्धनम् ।

सत्यङ्कारकृतं द्रव्यं द्विगुणं प्रतिदापयेत् ॥

चरित्रबन्धककृत it is a pledge by a चरित्र . चरित्र from चर् (to go) means-foot, going

⁴⁷ Identical rules.

behaviour, conduct, act, practice, religious act, good faith. Should the word चरित्र be understood as a religious act, then such a pledge, according to some commentators, should be understood as based on the ablution in the Ganges. It will be based on the promise of the debtor to repay the debt with the additional obligation that up to the moment of repayment of the debt he will not bathe in the Ganges (Dīpakalikā). Instead of bathing in the Ganges some understand the performance of the Agnihotra.

F. Stenzler translates this śloka as "*Verpfändung unter Lebenswandel*" which corresponds with the above mentioned interpretation. It will also be a debt contracted on the pledge of religious merits.

21. Legal Interpretation.

A legal interpretation of this śloka is to be found in Mit. and it seems that it is the only one which is correct. Mit. understands under the expression चरित्र a pledge relying upon "good faith." It will be either good faith of the pledgor or of the pledgee. There is good faith on the part of the pledgee if he gives a large amount as loan and takes a pledge of a small value. On the contrary there is good faith on the part of the pledgor if he gives a pledge of a great value and takes a small amount as loan. In other words, if the value of the pledge is not in proportion to the loan taken, then we can refer to as a चरित्र pledge.

From the legal point of view there is no reason to form a special discrimination for चरित्र pledges, as it can be either a pledge to be kept, or a pledge to be used, as well as movable and immovable or limited and not limited as to time.

22. Legal Consequences.

According to Y. this kind of pledge involves other legal consequences and might be considered an exception to the general rules which say that a pledge to be kept lapses if doubled.

Y. says that a pledge of this sort does not lapse even though the amount is doubled. On the other hand the amount should be paid to the extent of twice the principal only.

It should be noted that Mit. (*ad. Y. II-61*) interpreting the second part of the śloka says *inter alia*: "In the context of the pledge another (kind of loan) is being described यस्मिन्कारकृतमिति. Whatever thing, such as ring etc. has been placed in the hand of another with a view to complete the agreement of sale and purchase, the double of that thing should be paid if the agreement is broken. Even there, if the person by whom the ring etc. is deposited himself breaks the contract, he should give the thing itself. If the other party commits a breach of the contract then a double of the ring etc. itself should be returned."⁴⁸

CHAPTER VI. PLEDGES STIPULATED IN WRITING AND BEFORE WITNESSES CONTRACT OF PLEDGE AS A REAL OR CONSENSUAL CONTRACT.

1

23. Real and Consensual Contracts in General.

In order to understand the division into pledges stipulated in writing and before witnesses we must first consider whether according to ancient Indian law the contract of pledge is a real or a consensual contract.

In Roman law *pignus* was a typical example of the real contract *i.e.* a contract which is actionable on the ground of performance by one party of his *res*. By handing over the *res*, the contract was completed. "*Re contrahitur obligatio veluti mutui datione.*"

According to a consensual contract the mere *consensus* without more is sufficient to engender an obligation.

The question is whether according to the ancient Indian law the handing over of the pledge constituted the contract of pledge, or whether for the validity of the contract of pledge it was sufficient when the pledgor promised with the consent of the pledgee to hand

⁴⁸ According to the translation by J. R. Gharpure in the Collection of Hindu Law Texts No. 2, p. 95.

him over the pledge. Was it the act of handing over, or the act of mutual consent which created the contract ?

It is impossible to give a uniform answer to this question when basing it on the *Smṛtis*. The sources of ancient Indian law do not give a satisfactory reply, as the discrimination between real and consensual contracts is not carried out in a very strict way.

24. Contracts of Pledge as Real Contracts.

It is clear that Y. (II-60) considers the contract of a pledge a real contract and understands under "contract of pledge" every kind of pledge. Y. (II-60) says : आधेः स्वीकरणात्सिद्धी. The contract of pledge is valid by the performance of the act of admission. Using the general word आधि Y. admits that this passage has to be used to गोप्य as well as to भोग्य *i.e.* to every kind of pledge ; using the words स्वीकरण⁴⁹ + ⁵⁰सिद्धि Y. clearly states that the contract of pledge is a real and not a consensual contract.⁴⁹

The point of view of N., Vyāsa and Brh. is not clear, but we can admit that these three *Smṛtis* are of the opinion that the contract of pledge is a real contract.

N. (I-139) referring to the division of pledges into movable and immovable ones says that both are valid when there is actual enjoyment and not otherwise.

आधिस्तु द्विविधः प्रोक्तो जङ्गमः स्थावरस्तथा ।

सिद्धिर्नोभयस्यास्य भोगो यत्रास्ति नान्यथा ॥

We see that N. admits that the possession of the pledge is the *essentiale negotii* of the contract of pledge. A pledge which is only mentioned in a document without actually being enjoyed has no legal validity, Asahāya (*ad* N. I.-139) says.⁵⁰

An identical point of view is also found in Vyāsa.⁵¹ In this connection Colebrooke says that this rule relates to pledges delivered for use. This view-point is only partially right, because we must admit that it relates to every kind of pledge *i.e.* to pledges to be used, to be kept, etc., as movable and immovable pledges might be given either in order to be used or to be kept.

Brh. says only that when a person neither enjoys a pledge nor obtains it from the pledgor, nor points it out to others, his written contract of pledge is invalid.⁵²

It is evident from these sentences that the possession of a pledge is essential to a contract of pledge because without possession of the pledge the contract of pledge is invalid. It does not mean, however, that for the validity of this contract the handing over of the pledge was essential.

25. Contracts of Pledge as Consensual Contracts.

If, based on the sources of law mentioned before, we can admit that the contract of pledge is a real contract, we must add that from other *Smṛtis* it follows that the possession of the pledge is of great importance, even though the contract of pledge is consensual.

Vi. (V-180) says : ययोर्निक्षिप्त आधिसनौ विवदेतां यदा नरौ ।

य य मुक्तिः फलं तस्य बलात्कारं विना कृता ॥

It is clear that according to Vi., if two men have a dispute over a property pledged to both of them, the pledgee who proves possession without force will enjoy its fruits. If it were possible to pledge a thing to two persons it would be almost impossible to hand it over to two persons, as one of them had it in his possession.⁵³

The same doubts arise when reading Kāty. (517) : आधिमेकं द्वयोर्द्युतु कुर्यात्का प्रतिपद्भवेत् ।

K. asks what will happen to a pledged thing in the event of being pledged to two persons

⁴⁹ Identically Mīt. *ad* Y. II-60.

⁵⁰ P. 87, line 4, from the bottom.

⁵¹ Quoted in Col. p. 205.

⁵² Brh. X-53.

⁵³ It is not the only proof as this para relates to fruit, therefore, probably to immovable pledges and the handing over of a field could be only performed by symbolic means. Such a symbolic act could be performed by the pledgor with several persons as registers of mortgages were unknown to the *Smṛtis*.

and uses the word आधि which shows that every thing can be pledged to two persons. Therefore, it does not concern immovable or movable pledges only, but also pledges to be kept and to be used. In particular in the case of pledges to be kept it is impossible to hand over the pledged thing to another person as it is already in the possession of the first pledgee. Therefore we must admit that Kāty. is of the opinion that the contract of pledge is a consensual and not a real contract.

Kāty. considers that in the event of one thing being pledged to two persons, the priority, or to be more exact, a document *i.e.* a proof of a better *titulus*,—is decisive.

Vi. (V-184) says that possession is decisive and its commentators are of the same opinion. Therefore, if even the handing over of the pledged thing was not an *essentiale*, the possession of the pledged thing was of great importance from the legal point of view, not only from the civil, but also from the point of view of legal procedure.

We must admit that Y. on one side, and Vi. and Kāty., on the other are respectively of the opinion that the contract of pledge is a real, or consensual contract. Based on N. and Brh. we can also admit that in certain cases the contract of pledge was a real one, and in other cases a consensual contract.

In any case ancient Indian law is not uniform as to the contract of pledge being a real or consensual contract.

2

26. Importance of Contracts of Pledge Stipulated in Writing and Before Witnesses, from the Point of View of Legal Procedure.

The discrimination between pledges stipulated in writing and before witnesses is, above all, of importance from the point of view of legal procedure. In addition it is also important, from the point of view of civil law, when the problem arises as to who has a better claim to the pledged thing in the case of a consensual agreement regarding pledges being contracted by more than two parties.

Brh. (X-39) says that the pledge may be stated in writing or stipulated orally before witnesses.

Caṇḍeśvara (*ad* Brh. quoted in Col. p. 142) is rightly of the opinion that this discrimination is important from the point of view of the legal procedure. Kāty. (518) also holds the same point of view; according to this *smṛti* a pledge stipulated in writing is superior to that stipulated orally before witnesses. Therefore, if a dispute arises regarding a pledge, the party who can prove the existence of the pledge by means of a document is in a better position than the one who proves his right by means of witnesses. This conforms with the general rules which were in force in Ancient India.⁵⁴ In this case it is important that this transaction is opposed to one mode of proof only. If one party is able to produce two proofs, he will be in a better position from the point of view of legal procedure. Therefore, if one party can prove his right by means of witnesses as well as possession of the pledged thing, thus having two modes of proof in its favour, he is in a better position than the person who can prove his right by means of a document but cannot prove that he is in possession of the pledged thing; if, however, the latter can prove that the other party possesses the pledged thing *vi* or *clam* then he will also have the same or better right to the pledged thing.⁵⁵ Such an interpretation is based *per analogiam* on Vi. V-184 where we find the sentence that with regard to the greater right to a pledged thing⁵⁶ between two parties, the party who can prove possession not obtained by force is considered to have the better right.

From the point of view of legal procedure the problem as to who has the better position in case of a pledge, the right to which is proved by means of two documents, is settled in Kāty. (519).

⁵⁴ See L. STERNBACH'S "Legal Relations between Employers and Employees in Ancient India" in "Poona Orientalist", Vol. VIII.

⁵⁵ See Col. p. 214 sqq.

⁵⁶ Pledged at the same time.

Kāty. says that in this case the document which specifies the pledged thing is more powerful. This rule is connected with *śloka* 522 of the same source of law. According to this verse perfect proof is given if the written contract of pledge marks out all the details of the pledged immovable thing.⁵⁷

A similar point of view is also to be found in Kāty. 521 where the problem is settled of a better right from the point of view of legal procedure—of a general pledge of all that belongs to a man and of a pledge of specified things.⁵⁸

27. Falsification of Documents.

In addition, general rules regarding documents and proofs have to be applied to pledges. In particular two general rules regarding proofs in documents must be mentioned here. These rules are to be found in Kāty. 300 and 311. According to the latter the falsification of a document of pledge of immovable property is punished by depriving the falsifier of the tongue, hands and toes (*lex tallionis*) provided the falsification was undeniably proved.

28. Reinforcement of Unvalid Contracts of Pledge.

On the other hand, although, according to the general rules, a document with some defects is not valid, it becomes valid when it concerns a pledge which has been undoubtedly enjoyed for twenty years.⁵⁹ This rule is probably connected with usucaption, the more so as Kāty. does not admit that usucaption cannot take place in the case of pledge.⁶⁰

Other rules regarding pledges stipulated in writing in particular problems of enjoying pledges on the basis of a vitiated document, pledge of the same thing to two or more persons etc. will be discussed in another place.

CHAPTER VII. SPECIFIED AND NON-SPECIFIED PLEDGES

29. Existing and not Existing Things at the Time of Concluding Contracts of Pledge.

This discrimination is to be found only in Kāty. (520) and is also important from the point of view of legal procedure only. It is connected with the problem of the contract of pledge as a consensual or real one.

The so called अनिर्दिष्ट *i.e.* unspecified pledges are those in which the pledgor pledges a thing which at the time of the pledge did not exist. Therefore, such a pledge could not be described and specified and, in consequence, resembled the sky. On the contrary the निर्दिष्ट pledge is a pledge specified in detail and which existed at the time of the pledge.⁶¹

If we admit that such a अनिर्दिष्ट pledge existed we must grant that this contract of pledge was a consensual contract, as from this passage of Kāty. it is evident that the contract of pledge could be concluded although the pledged thing did not still exist. From the point of view of legal procedure this discrimination had great importance as the अनिर्दिष्ट pledge could not be specified and the निर्दिष्ट was specified and we have seen before how important it was from the legal point of view, to specify clearly the pledged thing.

CHAPTER VIII. DUTIES OF PLEDGORS AND PLEDGEEES

1

Duties of Pledgors.

30. General Rules.

The first duty of the pledgor consists in giving the pledge and afterwards in repayment of the debt. It is clear that *conditio sine qua non* is the ownership of the pledged

⁵⁷ See above.

⁵⁸ यस्तु सर्वस्वमादिश्य प्राक् पश्चात्नामचिह्नितम् ।

आदध्यात्तत्कथं न स्याच्चिह्नितं बलवत्तरम् ॥

⁵⁹ Kāty. 300.

⁶⁰ See §. 39-40.

⁶¹ आकाशभूतमादध्यादनिर्दिष्टं च तद्भवेत् ।

यद्यत्तदास्य यद्येत तदादिष्टं विनिर्दिष्टेत् ॥ (Kāty. 520).

thing⁶² on the part of the debtor giving the pledge. The time of handing over the pledge to the pledgee depends on the fact whether the contract of the pledge was a consensual or a real contract. In the case of a real contract the moment of the handing over of the pledged thing will create the contract of pledge, but in the case of a consensual contract the debtor will be obliged to hand over the pledged thing at the time and place stipulated in the agreement.

The second duty of the pledgor—the repayment of the debt must also take place at the time and place agreed upon by both the parties, or when, according to the rules mentioned above, the debt became payable.⁶³ If the debt has not been repaid at that time the pledgee is entitled to claim the amount due from the pledgor or to appropriate the pledged thing.⁶⁴

31. Restitution of Pledge in Case of Its Depreciation.

There exists, however, on the part of the pledgor one more duty. It is known that the pledge is, above all, given in order to secure the claim of the pledgee. The pledgee is entitled in conformity with *ius cogens* to receive interest on the loan given by him which is, however, lower than that in case of a debt not secured by a pledge, as his claim is not so endangered as unsecured claim.⁶⁵

In ancient India the permitted interests could amount to 240% yearly and according to Y. interest from debts unsecured by a pledge to 24% yearly; however, in the case of debts secured by a pledge the interest could not amount to more than 15% yearly.⁶⁶ From this rule the obligation of the pledgor arises to restitute the previous value of the pledged thing in the event of it having been depreciated, or to repay immediately the debt due. The pledgee losing the previous value of the pledge at the same time loses the security of his claim and his debt might be endangered again.

This obligation of the pledgor is regulated in Y. (II-60), N. (I-130) and Kāty. (524).

Y. and N. in an almost identical manner regulate this obligation of the pledgor. Y. (II-60) says :

...रक्ष्यमाणोऽप्यसारताम् । यातश्चेदन्य आधेयो धनभावा धनी भवेत् ॥

Even when the pledge has been carefully kept and suffers deterioration it must be substituted by another or the creditor must receive the amount due to him.

N. (I-130) says :

रक्ष्यमाणोऽपि यत्राधिः कालेनेयादसारताम् ।

तत्राधिरन्यः कर्तव्यो देयं वा धनिने धनम् ॥

It is evident that N. regulates this problem in an identical manner adding, superfluously, that the deterioration of the pledge has been caused due to time. This point of view seems to be wrong, because every innocent and more particularly every guilty⁶⁷ loss of value of the pledge necessitated the pledgor giving another pledge or discharging the debt.

Kāty. (524) regulates this problem in a similar manner although he uses different words.

Kāty. says :

न चेद्वनिकदोषेण निपतेद्वा म्रियेत वा ।

आधिमन्यं स दाप्यः स्याद्व्याप्नुच्येत नर्णिकः ॥

Using the words निपतेद्वा म्रियेत वा Kāty. wanted to say : fall, or deteriorating or loss, as well as destruction or death (in case of living pledges such as cows, female slaves⁶⁸ etc.) of pledged things.

⁶² This is evident from K. (170/5) where it is stated that in case of repairing of tanks etc., he who did it gets ownership of them and as result might sell and pledge them.

⁶³ Viz. when the debt has been doubled.

⁶⁴ See below.

⁶⁵ See note 37.

⁶⁶ अशीतिभागो वृद्धिः स्यान्मासि मासि सबन्धके ।

वर्णकमाच्छन् द्वित्रिचतुष्पञ्चकमन्यथा ॥ (Y. II-37).

⁶⁷ See below.

⁶⁸ See J. Jolly's *Recht und Sitte*, p. 101.

K. (178/13-15) solves this problem in another way. This *Arthaśāstra* does not say anything about substitution of the pledge; it refers only to sale of the pledge which *in facto* is equivalent to immediate obligation to repay the debt due. K., as usual bases the obligation to sell the pledge on administrative officers.

K. says अनाशविनाशकरणाधिष्ठितो वा धारणसन्निधाने वा विनाशभयादुद्धतार्थं धर्मस्थानुज्ञातो विक्रीणीत ।
आधिपालप्रत्ययो वा ॥

We see that according to K. when it is to be feared that the pledged thing may be depreciated or lost in the near future, the pledgee may ask for the permission of the judges and, if granted, sell the pledge either in the presence of the debtor or an expert. He can also sell it under the guidance of the officer or office in charge of pledges. It is clear that this will take place when the pledged thing is of a greater value than the debt, because if the value were smaller, the rule regarding the duty to give another pledge should be applied *per analogiam*.

2

Duties of Pledgees.

32. General Rules.

The duty of the pledgee consists in the giving of a loan and the duty to restore the pledge as soon as the debt which it was intended to secure, is discharged.⁶⁹ The pledgee is answerable for *omnis* or *summa diligentia*, otherwise he loses interest. In case of negligence (*culpa levis* or *lata*) in consequence of which the pledge has been injured or lost, the pledgee is liable to in *integrum restitutio* (Vi., N., Y.) or loss, depending on the extent of the damage done, of interest even of the principal. The pledgee, however, is not responsible for any damage to the pledged thing, if it was caused by an unavoidable accident *i.e. vis maior*.

33. Preservation of the Pledge by the Pledgee.

Regarding the duty of the pledgee to preserve the pledged thing we read in N. (I-125) and Brh. (X-40⁷⁰) that the pledge must be kept carefully *i.e. cum omni diligentia*. Brh., however, adds that it should be kept like a deposit. According to the rules in force for deposits, the deposit must be guarded with the same care as a son (पुत्रवत्परिपाल्यं तु विनश्यत्यनवेक्षया) and the sin of those who damage the deposit by negligence is as great as the sin of a woman who injures her husband or of a man who kills his son or his friend.

Besides the sanctions from the religious point of view (a sin)—Brh. (J-40) as well as N. (I-125) regulate legal sanctions in the event of the pledgee not exercising care over the pledged thing *i.e.* does not exercise *omnem* or *summam diligentiam*. Such a fact causes the loss of interest on the principal (N. I-125, Brh. X-40). If owing to negligence (*culpa lata* or *culpa levis*) the pledged thing has been rendered worthless (Brh. X-43) or injured (N. I-126⁷¹) the pledgee loses the principal itself. According to Vi. (VI-6) the creditor must make good the loss of the pledge and according to Y. (II-59). नष्टो देवो विनष्टश्च दैवराजकृताद्दे ।

It is clear that Vi. and Y. state that in such a case in *integrum restitutio* takes place. It is also distinctly stated in Mit. (*ad* II-59) where it is said that if a pledge for use is spoiled it should be restored to the state in which it was before and then returned. Probably Mit. says incorrectly that this passage relates to pledges for use only (it should relate to every kind of pledge) and that if the pledged thing has been destroyed *i.e.* has perished entirely, it should be recompensed by paying the full price. It is, therefore, evident from the text that it should be restored and, if it is impossible, it should be paid back by paying the price.

⁶⁹ See above and Vi. (VI-8).

⁷⁰ See also Brh. (XI-9).

⁷¹

प्रमादाद्धनिनस्तद्वदाथौ विकृतिमागते ।

विनष्टे मूलनाशः स्यादैवराजकृताद्दे ॥

The opinion of Vyāsa (Col. p. 146) is similar to Y.'s opinion according to which this rule relates to pledged things such as gold and other precious objects. This point of view is also identical with Bṛh.'s (X-43) where it is stated that when a very valuable pledged thing is spoiled the pledgor must be satisfied by the pledgee.

It is, therefore, evident that according to Vi., Y., Bṛh. and Vyāsa *in integrum restitutio* takes place if owing to negligence the pledged thing has been damaged or destroyed. In the most short and clear manner this rule is stated in Vi. and Y.

34. Vis Maior.

The rule that the pledgee is not responsible for any damage to or destruction of the pledged thing if it was caused by *vis maior* is carried out consequently.

Y., N., G., Vi., Kāty., Vyāsa and Bṛh. are of this opinion. This rule is represented in the most general manner in G. (XII-42). We read there that if through no fault of the holder a pledge (as well as in case of the contracts like deposits, use, sale etc.) has been lost, the holder is not responsible for this loss.⁷²

Though G. does not refer *expressis verbis* to *vis maior* this follows from the context. N., Y., Vi, K., Bṛh. and Kāty. refer *expressis verbis* to *vis maior*. These sources of law often use the words दैवराजकृतादृते or दैवराजोपघातादृते (Vi, Bṛh.), दैवराजत (Kāty.) etc. The words दैव and राज (in N. राज only) are here repeated.

दैव i.e. fate. Mit. (ad. Y-II-59) explains that under दैव we must understand fire, water and generally any misfortune. Asahāya (ad N-126) understands under "fate" if a pledge has been stolen by a thief. A full explanation of "fate" is to be found in K. (177/13 sqq.) K. says that under such a *vis maior* destruction of the pledge by enemies or wild tribes, fire, flood, sinking or plundering of ships if the pledged things was there etc. should be understood. In another place K. says in general that *vis maior* of a pledged thing occurs when it dies (in case of female slaves, cattle etc.) or is involved in calamities.⁷³

Regarding the king's act Mit. (ad Y-II-59) and Asahāya (ad N-I-12/6) explain that the king may cause the loss of the pledge if he confiscates the whole property of a man along with the pledged thing on account of a slight offence.

It is clear that these cases are examples only and the rule consists in the faultless loss of the pledge caused by *vis maior*.

If such a *vis maior* occurs the rules regarding *in integrum restitutio*, loss of interest or of the principal are not to be applied (G. XII-42, Y. II-59, Vi. VI-6, N. I-126, K. 177/13 sqq. and 178/7). It is, after all, in conformity with the general rules of ancient Indian civil law.

Kāty. (523) and almost identically Bṛh. (X-41) and Vyāsa (Coll. p. 160) do not say that *in integrum restitutio* or loss of interest or of the principal has not to be applied. These sources of law go farther, because they say that in this case the pledgor must either repay the debt or deliver another pledge.⁷⁴

These rules result from the general rule that the pledge is given in order to secure the pledgee's claim. If he has lost through no fault on his part this security, he has to get another security, or in case of pledges unlimited as to time the debt becomes payable immediately. Therefore, if, because of *vis maior*, the pledge is destroyed in case of debts unlimited as to time, the debt becomes payable immediately, provided another agreement has been concluded⁷⁵ and in case of debts limited as to time, the pledgor is liable to deliver another pledge to the pledgee.

⁷² Similarly Mn. (VIII-189), Y. (II-66), N. (II-12, 8/9) and others regarding deposits; these rules can be used *per analogiam*.

⁷³ These rules concern deposits, but as K. (178/7) says that they hold good also in the case of pledges, it must be admitted that these rules relate to pledges too.

⁷⁴ Kāty. only refers to the repayment of the debt along with interest,

⁷⁵ And another pledge given.

CHAPTER IX. MISCELLANEA.

1

Competition Between Different Acts.

35. General Rules.

If a dispute arises regarding two agreements and these agreements were concluded at different times the last agreement is valid. On the contrary if the agreements were concluded at the same time the agreement according to which the pledgee obtained first possession over the pledged thing is valid. If, however, both pledgees possessed the pledged thing for an equal length of time, it should be held jointly.

In case of competition between the acts of sale, pledge and donation of the same thing on one and the same day, the three parties should divide this thing among themselves.

36. Competition Between Two Acts Concluded at Different Times.

The ancient Indian law is of the opinion that in case of dispute relating to the validity of two juridical acts the act which was concluded last is valid. (Y-II-23, N-I-97). However, as far as pledges are concerned, this rule is different.

The first act is better than the subsequent act—आद्यौ प्रतिग्रहे कृते पूर्वा तु बलवत्तरा (Y. II-63 and similarly N-I. 97).

This rule is connected with the principle to be found in Y. (II-60) according to which a contract of pledge is a real contract. Mit. (*ad* Y-II-23) explains rightly that when a man after pledging his field with someone and obtaining a loan pledges it again with another, and also obtains something, in such a case the field belongs to the first only and not to the second. A second pledge of the same object is impossible.

Kāty. (517) regulates the same problem and solves it in the same manner. Kāty. clearly asks what will happen in the event of the pledgor pledging the same thing to two persons. The answer is that only the first transaction is valid and the second invalid.

Kāty. adds that the person who made the two pledges is liable to a fine imposed on a thief (Kāty. 517).

A higher punishment is to be found in Vi. (V. 181-183) i.e. corporal punishment.

Viv. (p. 11/9-11) rightly comes to the conclusion that the meaning of the above is that the first pledge is valid and the subsequent one inadmissible. Viv. adds also that a similar opinion is maintained in the Pārijāta, Ratnākara, Smṛtisāra etc.

The fact of punishment, indifferent whether it is a fine or corporal punishment, shows that these sources of law prohibit the pledge and sale of pledged things as long as the debt is not repaid to the pledgee. This is clearly stated in K.

If the deposit is either pledged, or sold or lost, the depository shall restore four times its value as well as pay a fine of five times the stipulated value. Although this para relates to deposits, it must be applied to pledges too. This is stated in K. (178/7).

This view is also expressed in Mn. (VIII-143) (न चधेः कालसंगेवात्रिसर्गोऽस्ति न विक्रयः) and Viv. (12/5 sqq.) (though Viv. did not know K.) based probably his conclusion only on Mn. and commentaries, in particular, by Halāyudha.

37. Competition Between Two Acts Concluded at the Same Time.

Brh. and Vi. solve the question of what will happen to the pledged thing if it was pledged at the same time on the basis of different acts. These rules have to be applied, in particular, to immovable pledges as it is difficult to imagine the taking into possession at the same time of a movable pledge by two different persons. It is, however, possible if the contract of pledge is a consensual contract.

According to Brh. (X-44) when a field is pledged to two pledgees at the same time it shall belong to that pledgee who first obtained possession of it. This rule shows⁷⁶ that ac-

⁷⁶ See above.

according to Brh. the contract of pledge was a consensual contract. Therefore, this rule may be applied to movable pledges too.

When it is proved which of the pledgees obtained first possession of the pledged things, his right will be better. The same rule is also to be found in Vi. (V-184) where it is said only that the right of that person who possesses the pledged thing will be greater; on the contrary he who does not possess the pledged thing has no right to it.

But what will happen when both the pledgees possess the pledged thing for the same time? This problem is solved in Brh. (X-45) where we read that in such a case the pledged thing should be held jointly or shared equally by them. It is difficult to say when this rule has to be applied. It is not clear whether in this case the priority of the obtaining possession of the pledged thing will be considered or not, or only the time of possession. Probably it will take place when one pledgor pledged a thing at the same time to two pledgees, taking from them two different loans, or taking one loan from two persons simultaneously.

38. Competition between Acts of Sale, Pledge and Donation.

Brh. (X-62-64) says that in case a thing has been sold, pledged and donated on one and the same day—the purchaser, pledgee and donee should divide the thing among themselves. The donee is safeguarded, according to Brh., in the best way, because he must obtain a full third part of the thing or of its value. The rest *i.e.* 2/3 of the thing or of its value must be divided in shares proportionate to the amount for which the thing was sold or pledged.

2

Prescription of Pledges.

39. General Remarks.

Prescription (*i.e.* acquisition of ownership by continuous possession *bona fide*) was well known in ancient Indian law. The period of this possession *bona fide* varies in various sources of law and is dependent on what object was subjected to usucaption. According to ancient Indian law it was necessary to take the relative object into possession and to use it in good faith.⁷⁷ This rule applies with some exceptions to all movables. One of these exceptions is the pledge as there the pledgee has no possession *bona fide* but only enjoys detention of the pledged thing.

It must be noted that this point of view is not carried out consequently in all the ancient Indian sources of law, as some of the sources are of the opinion that usucaption of pledges can take place. Probably, in practice, this problem gave rise to contrary opinions though from the theoretical point of view of civil law the property of a pledge cannot be obtained by usucaption.

40. Usucaption of Pledges Prohibited or Admissible.

With regard to the first group of rules it must be stated that Mn. (VIII-149) says

आधिः सीमा बालधनं निक्षेपोपनिधिः त्रियः ।

राजस्वं श्रोत्रियस्वं च न भोगेन प्रणश्यति ॥

Pledges and others are not lost by adverse possession.

This problem is solved identically or rather in similar manner in N. (I-81, see also N.'s quotation VIII-12), Śukranīti, (4,5,445) and Y. (II-25); similarly in K. (191/1-3) where we find the rule that on the basis of mere possession and use the ownership of a pledge⁷⁸ cannot be obtained.

Y. (II-26) even says that he who, basing his claim on usucaption, takes away the pledge should be made to pay the principal amount to the owner and to the king a fine of

⁷⁷ See J. Jolly's *Recht und Sitte*, p. 91/92.

⁷⁸ and others.

equal amount or according to his capacity.⁷⁹

As far as the possibility of obtaining the property of a pledge by prescription is concerned, it must be noted that Vās. (XVI-16-17) says that pledges (आधि) and others when enjoyed for ten years continuously are lost to the owner. However Vās. says अन्यथा-प्युदाहरन्ति and quotes Mn. (VIII-149) or N. (I-81) although these quotations are corrupt.

Therefore, it is evident that in Vās.'s time and where Vās. was in use the principle regarding the prescription of pledges was not uniform and some codificators were of the opinion that the usucaption of pledges was prohibited, though others were of the opinion that it was admissible after an uninterrupted possession of ten years. The same rule must also be applied to N. as this source of law says (I-81) that pledges etc. cannot be lost to the owner by adverse possession, but in the next śloka says that pledges etc. might be lost if they were enjoyed in the presence of the owner for twenty years.⁸⁰

It must also be noted that G. (XII-37-39) and Kāty. (330), where we find some rules relating to usucaption, do not mention pledges as exceptions from usucaption, although the respective rules are similar to those in Mn. (VIII-149) etc. This fact might show that according to G. and Kāty. the usucaption of pledges was admissible, the more so as Kāty. (300) says that if a pledge has been undoubtedly enjoyed for twenty years, then the pledge becomes valid, although it is based on a defective document.⁸¹

However, even against the explicit rules found in Ancient Indian sources of law, we must admit that from the point of view of the system of civil law of Ancient India prescription of pledges was not admissible.⁸²

3

Penal Rules.

41. General Remarks.

In Vi. and Kāty. we find three penal rules. They relate to the taking by the pledgee of a greater quantity of the pledged thing, or giving by the pledgor a smaller quantity of the pledged thing than agreed upon, as well as enjoyment of the pledge under a vitiated document. In all these cases, besides other legal consequences, a fine ought to be imposed on the trespasser.

42. Taking More or Giving Less than Agreed.

According to Kāty. (527) if the pledgee forcibly takes and against the will of the pledgor something which has not been pledged, namely more than agreed upon, he is liable to the first amercement and the pledgor will get back his pledge.⁸³ It is not clear whether the whole pledge or the additional amount of the pledge taken by the pledgee can be retaken by the pledgor, as well as if it is a general rule, or it relates, as Sarasvativilāsa says to pledges for use only.

Vi. (V-182) says that if the quantity of the pledge given by the pledgor to the pledgee is less than agreed upon, the pledgor is liable to a fine of sixteen *suvarṇas*.

43. Enjoyment of Pledge under a Vitiated Document.

Kāty. (528) decides that when a pledgee enjoys a pledge from the pledgor under a vitiated document, the king should make the pledgee pay a fine and should destroy the deed of pledge.

These three rules are not of great importance from the legal point of view.

⁷⁹ आध्यादानां विहृतीरं धनिने दापयेद्धनम् ।

दण्डं च तत्समं राज्ञे शक्यपेक्षमथापि वा ॥

⁸⁰ प्रत्यक्षपरिभोगासु स्वामिनो द्विदशाः समाः ।

आध्यादीन्यपि जीयेन्ते स्त्रीनरेन्द्रधनादृते ॥

⁸¹ See above.

⁸² With this problem is connected the problem of the loss of property of pledges if the debt was not repaid in the stipulated period.

⁸³ Identically

PANCAJANA PROVINCE MENTIONED IN THE KAUTILIYA

By Dr. A. P. KARMAKAR

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya should really act as an eye-opener in regard to the historico-geographical data of Ancient and Proto India. Besides dealing with the problem of Ancient Indian polity in general, the work has also covered the field of the various branches of Indian culture. However, it is proposed to deal here with the expression Pāñcājana occurring in the Arthaśāstra especially in view of the light it throws on the local habitat of these people.

The author of the Arthaśāstra in the chapter on 'Bhūmicchidra-vidhānam' (Adhi. II, Adh. II, Prakaraṇa 20/¹) discusses the question of the qualities of the elephants obtaining in different provinces of India. He observes :

कलिङ्गाङ्गजाः श्रेष्ठाः प्राच्याश्चेति करुषजाः ।

दशार्णश्चापरान्ताश्च द्विपानां मध्यमा मताः ॥

सौराष्ट्रिका पाञ्चजनाः तेषां प्रत्यवरास्समुताः ।

सर्वेषां कर्मणा वीर्यं जवस्तेजश्च वर्द्धते ॥

It is really very significant that amidst the other provinces he also refers to the Pāñcājana territory.

Various theories have been put forth regarding the meaning of the expression *Pañcājana*. In fact scholars like Sāyaṇa, Roth, Geldner, Zimmer, Hopkins and others have proposed different views, and eventually the Pāñcājanas have been identified either with 'the four castes and the Niśādas', or 'the people of the quarters with the Aryan folk in the middle', or with 'the five tribes of Anus, Druhyus, Yadus, Turvaśas and Pūrus.'

In our opinion the Pāñcājanas were so called as they had occupied some such territory as the Pāñcanada, which has been for the first time referred to in the Mahābhārata. From the various references made in the Mahābhārata, Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī and other works we learn that the Vāhikas had occupied this territory. It has also been proved that the customs and manners of the Vāhikas had much in common with those of the Mohenjo-Darrians—the pre-Vedic occupants of this soil.

In spite of so many researches in the field of Vedic literature, it is still to be proved that the R̥gveda was written beyond the borderland of India. The science of Indo-European philology has at the most established the fact of the cultural contact of the R̥gvedic Aryans and the Indo-Irāṇians. And all the other data in regard to the similarities between the R̥gvedic Sanskrit and the languages of the middle Asian and Western countries may even merely prove the migration of either the Aryan race or their language into those countries.

Keeping the above fact in view, what we think as reasonable is that it is not impossible that the Vedic bards must have meant by the term Pāñcājana all those people who resided in the land of the Five Rivers. This is just in keeping with the intelligence and shrewdness of the Vedic Aryans themselves.

The evidence of the Arthaśāstra really comes to our rescue. The work definitely describes the province of the Pāñcājanas as one of the places of habitation of elephants. The Mohenjo-Daro representations of elephants on the various seals prove their early vogue in the land of the Five Rivers. Added to this the R̥gvedic stanza (vi. 61, 12) mentions that the Pāñcājanas were located on the Sarasvatī—a place which is nearer to the land of the Vāhikas. It is also worth noting that such an expression was not in vogue in any of the other parts of the world.

But is it not really very interesting that the Arthaśāstra really refers to the early location of the Pāñcājanas? The Pāñcājanya of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, leaving aside the later myths regarding the point, is another such instance of the kind in the early literature of India.

¹ Cf. Shamasastri, *Kauṭilyam Arthaśāstram*, Mysore, p. 50. The Trivendrum Ed. gives a variant reading i.e. *Pāñcanadāh*.

Even the other reading *Pāñcanadāh* adopted by T. Gaṇapati Sastri in his Trivendrum edition is helpful to us from the point of view of showing the existence of the elephant forest in the Mohenjo Daro region.

MIA. MISCELLANY

By Prof. H. C. BHAYANI

[1] CALUKYA, CAULUKYA, SOLANKI AND SAULKIKA.

In the May issue of the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*¹ a fanciful derivation has been suggested for the name Cālukya. In this note it is proposed to corroborate on linguistic grounds the connection between the names *Śulki* or *Saulkika* and *Caulukya* or *Cālukya* already suggested by various scholars².

- (1) *Sulkin* and *Saulkika* are derivatives of *śulka* formed respectively with the possessive suffixes *-in-* (*ini*) and *-ika-* (*thak*), and are thus equivalent.
- (2) *Saulkikah*, besides its normal development as *suṅkio*, can also become **Solukkio* in Prakrit. The group *lk-* would dissolve through anaptyxis and the 'parting vowel' would be *u* under the influence of *o* in the preceding syllable (Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 139 end). The resultant single intervocalic *k* being unknown to Prakrit phonetics would get geminated as in *sukkila-* \angle *śukla*; *tilakka* \angle *tilaka*; *maṇḍukka* \angle *maṇḍuka* etc. (Pischel, § 91 end).
- (3) This **Solukkio* when Sanskritized would give *Caulukika*³. This tendency to Sanskritisation is especially strong during the middle and final stages of MIA. and Jainas are strikingly fond of Sanskritising MIA. or NIA. words. Moreover there are numerous cases wherein the real origin of a Prakrit word or name being not easily inferrable, a wrong one is coined by back-formation and in many a case we get 'folk etymologies'. Thus for example, Pk. *pañahitā* 'shoe' is Sanskritized as *prāṇahitā*⁴ (as if made up of *prāṇa-* and *-hitā*!) while actually it is to be derived from *upānaḥikā*—*upānaḥ*; Ap. *Andhakaviṭṭi* going back to Sk. *Andhakavṛṣṇi* is Sanskritised as *Andhakavṛṣṇi*⁵; Pk. *māhaṇa* (Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) is Sanskritised as *māhana* and analysed into the components *mā* and *hana*.⁶ In the same manner the source of **Solukkio* being forgotten or felt somehow obscure, the word was Sanskritized as *Caulukikah*⁷ and was thereby brought into connexion with Sk. *culuka* and this step combined with the growing tendency to assign Aryan origins to the ruling Rajput dynasties gave rise to the myth which finds a charming literary expression in the stanza :⁸

asevyā mātaṅgāḥ parigalita-pakṣāḥ śikhariṇo
jāda-prithiḥ kūrmaḥ phaṇipatir ayam ca dvi-rasanah
iti dhyātūr dhātūr dharaṇi-dhṛtaye sāndhya-culukāt
samuttasthau kaścid vilasad asipattāḥ sa subhataḥ

By a different suffix (*yal*) *Caulukya* was formed from *Culuka* and later when *Caluka* became current in the place of *Culuka*, *Cālukya* came into use instead of *Caulukya*.

It is of some consequence to note that *Culuka* is attested in comparatively late Sanskrit works only and Hemacandra (*Deśināmamālā*, III 18) records *Culua* as a Deśi word.

¹ D. R. Mankad, 'Derivation of Cālukya and Cāhamāna', *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, VI. 5 (n. s.) 1945, p. 107.

² Just recently by V. V. Mirashi, 'The Varuṇasarmaka Grant of Cāmunda-rāja (Gupta?) year 1033 a revised study', *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, VI 5 (n. s.), pp. 90-93. For several places of occurrence of the words discussed in the present note refer to the same paper.

³ This form of the word is found in the Kadi grant of Mūlarāja, *Ind. Ant.* XI, p. 191 ff.

⁴ *Brhatkathākośa* (SJS XVII), Introduction, p. 107.

⁵ *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra referred to in Alsdorf's *Harivamśapurāṇa*, p. 135.

⁶ *Padmacarita* of Raviśena (MDJG. XXIX), IV 122.

⁷ In this connection it is pertinent to note that *c* was an affricate in Pk. and hence partly allied in pronunciation to *s*. See Grierson, 'The Pronunciation of the Prakrit Palatals' JRAS, 1913 pp. 391-6.

⁸ *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (SJS. I), p. 15, stanza 23.

- (4) But the spoken language must have preserved the genuine form. **Solukkio* transformed under the subsequently developed phonetic tendencies became *Solañkī* which form is now current in Gujarati etc. For the change of the group *-kk-* into *-ñk-* compare Guj. *lan̄k* 'waist', MIA-*lakka*; Pk. *vālukkī*, *vāluñkī*; Pk. *suñka*, *śulka* and in general Turner, *Gujarati Phonology* (JRAS, 1921), § 16; Grierson, *Spontaneous Nasalization in the Indo-Aryan Languages* (JRAS, 1922), pp 381-388. Further *-a-* has become *-u-* under the operation of a prominent law of Gujarati phonology (Turner, *Guj. Phon.*, § 24 (1), and same is the case with the change of the final *-io* or *-iu* to *-ī* (*Guj. Phon.* § 27 (3)). Thus phonetically the transformation of *Solukkio* into *Solañkī* is absolutely regular and the relation *Šaulkikah* > *Solañkī* appears unshakably established.

[2] AP. STEM-ENLARGING SUFFIX -*uḍa-*.

Ap. *vaḥkuḍa*, °*ḍaya* has been explained by others⁹ as going back to Vedic *vaḥku* and containing the Ap. stem-enlarging suffix *-ḍa-* (°*ḍaya*). But in the light of other similarly formed Ap. words or their evolutes attested in some of the NIA. languages it is better to recognise in *vaḥkuḍa*, °*ḍaya* a stem-enlarging suffix *-uḍa(ya)* instead of *-ḍa(ya)*. This *-uḍa(ya)* would be related to *-aḍa(ya)* in the same way as another Ap. stem-enlarging suffix *-ulla(ya)* is related to *-alla(ya)*. Let us consider the following pairs:

- (1) *bappa*, *bappuḍa(ya)*; (2) *ṇagga*, *ṇagguḍa(ya)*; (3) *vaḥka*, *vaḥkuḍa(ya)*
(1) *bappa*, *bappuḍa(ya)*.

bappa (Guj. *bāḇ*) is quite familiar to Ap. and its sense is similar¹⁰ to that of *bappuḍa(ya)*¹¹ (Guj. *bāḇāḇū*, Early Awadhi *bāḇurā*) Sk. *varāḅz*, a term of address expressing mild endearment or pity.

(2) Besides *ṇagga*, *ṇagguḍa(ya)* (Guj. *nāgaḍū* 'naked') also is used in Ap. in an allied sense. *Karakaṇḍacarīu* (KJS IV, 1939) VIII 15, 5a reads: *dhayū dintau bhaṇḍ.hā ṇagguḍāhā* which is rendered by the editor as 'giving wealth to jesters and loafers' and in the *Śabdakośa* he has connected *ṇagguḍa-* with Sk. *nagna-* and Hindi *nagoḍā* 'penniless.' The word also occurs in one of the interpolated passages of the *Jasaharacarīu* (KJS 1, 1931) at I 17. 1: *ṭārambhiya thuṭ ṇagguḍihī tāma*. In the *Śabdakośa* appended to the *Jasaharacarīu* we find this entry: *ṇagguḍi*¹²—*cāraṇādi-bandivarga ity arthe Deśi | bhāṭṭa bhāṭa ? iti ṭippanam*.

Accordingly we have the pairs *bappa-* : *bappuḍa-*; *ṇagga* : *ṇagguḍa-* and they help us in establishing the pair *vaḥka-* : *vaḥkuḍa-*.

[3] AP. AGENTIVES IN -*yara-*

In the second volume of his edition of Hemacandra's Prakrit grammar Pischel dubiously connects *vañcayara-* occurring at Hemacandra, IV 412 with a reconstructed Sk. **vañcakara-* which latter he explains as equivalent to Sk. *vañcaka-*. But in the *Materialien* (see Wortverzeichnis, s. v. *vañcaara*) following the commentator Ūdayasāubhāgyagaṇi he renders the word as **vañcatara atyarītham vañcaka*). Vaidya in the notes to his edition of Hemacandra's Prakrit grammar gives both *vañcatara* and *vañcakara* as the *chāyā* of *vañcayara-*. That Pischel's original surmise was correct is shown by some Ap. words built up in the same manner as *vañcayara-* and by a class of words in some of the NIA. vernaculars which represents a phonetic continuation of the type *vañcayara-* or a formation parallel to it.

The vernacularised Apabhraṃśa of the *Saṃdeśarāsaka*¹³ presents us three words built up exactly like *vañcayara-*. In stanza 22 occur (1) *mayāya-maṇaha paḥa-dīvayara* (= *madana-*

⁹ Pischel, *Grammatik*, §§ 74, 599; *Materialien*, Wortverzeichnis, s. v. *Vaḥkuḍau*; accepted by Alsdorf, *Apabhraṃśa-studien* p. 19. n. 1. cf also S.M. Katre, *Koḥkaṇi*, Index s.v. *Vāḁde*.

¹⁰ Alsdorf incorrectly gives (see his *Harivaiṣṇavapurāṇa* Glossar, s. v. *bāḇpa*) 'Held, Starker' as the meaning of this word at its several occurrences in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta.

¹¹ Hemacandra, IV 387, 3; *Suayambhucchandāsa* IV, 20. *Kavidarpaṇa* (ABORI. XVI i-ii, 1935) II, 31, Com. v. 46, etc.

¹² Here the editor of the *Jasaharacarīu* gives *ṇagguḍi* as the base, but the above-recorded *ṇagguḍāhā* of the *Karakaṇḍacarīu* clearly shows that the stem underlying the form *ṇagguḍihī* is an A-stem.

¹³ To be shortly published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

manasām **patha-* dipakarah i. e. *pathi-dīpakah* 'a path-lighter of those who have given up their mind to Cupid' and (2) *rasiyaha* = *rasa-saṁjivayara* (*rasikānām* *rasa-saṁjivakarah* i. e. *rasa-saṁjivakah* a revivifier of love for those amorously inclined', and in stanza 67 occurs *viraha-ulhāvayara* = *virahanirvāpakah* 'extinguisher of (the fire of) separation'. Further in one of the passages (I. 6. 2a) interpolated by Gandharva (1308 A. C.) in Puṣpadanta's *Jasaharacariu* occurs *bhikkhaaru* (**bhikṣa-karah*) 'begger'. All these words are clearly agentives. They are instances of that analytical mode of breaking up the unitary basic idea of a verbal root into two distinct elements—an action noun and the general verb signifying 'to do', which has come into prominence in the late MIA. stage and continued in the NIA. languages also. Corresponding to Sk. agentives *vañcaka-*, *dīpaka-*, *saṁjivaka-*, *bhikṣuka-* etc. we have in Ap. words made up of two elements. First of these is an action noun **vañca-*, **dīva-*, **saṁjiva-*, or **bhikkha-*, while the second is *-(y)ara-* derived from *-kara-* 'doer'. And the Hindi agentives in *-erā* like *lūterā*, *citerā* etc. are lineal descendants of these Ap. agentives in *-yara-* enlarged with *-ya-* (i. e. *kah svārthe*). In the corresponding Gujarati agentives like *lūṭro*, *citro* etc. the suffixal element is to be traced back to Sk. *-kāra-* enlarged. Compare with these the other types of Gujarati agentives in *-nār-* and *ṇahār-* (found already in Old Western Rajasthani) like *tāranār*, *tāraṇahār* from Ap. **taraṇaha-ūru* (cf. Ap. *peṣanayāri* 'maid-servant' from *preṣaṇa-kārī*), Sk. *tāraṇasya kārah* = *tarakah*.

Accordingly we should connect the *-(y)ara-* element of the Ap. agentives with Sk. *-kara-*.

MISCELLANY

By Prof. D. R. MANKAD
Location of Lanka.

Raghu XV. 103 is this :

निर्वर्त्यैवं दशमुखशिरस्छेदकार्यं सुराणां
विष्वक्सेनः स्वतनुमविशत्सर्वलोकप्रतिष्ठाम् ।
लङ्कानाथं पवनतनयं चोभयं स्थापयित्वा
कीर्तिस्तम्भद्वयमिव गिरौ दक्षिणे चोत्तरे च ॥

Here, Rāma, after conquering Rāvaṇa, is said to have established *laṅkānātha* i.e. Vibhiṣaṇa on the southern mount and *pavanatanaya* i.e. Hanūmān on the northern mount. Here one would expect the southern mt. where Vibhiṣaṇa is established to be situated somewhere in Ceylon. But Mallinātha comments on this thus : दक्षिणे गिरौ चित्रकूटे चोत्तरे गिरौ हिमवति च.

Thus, according to Mallinātha, Vibhiṣaṇa was established on the Citrakūṭa mount. Would this not mean that Laṅkā, which was Vibhiṣaṇa's capital, was located near Citrakūṭa ?

Caturyuga = Generation.

The last line of the now famous Gujarati bhajana—*vaiṣṇava jana* to etc.—runs thus :
bhāṇe narasaiyo tenuṁ darśana karatān kula ekoteru tāryān re.

What is the sense of 'kula' in this line? It cannot be 'family'. The whole context requires it to be 'generation'. The line expressly means : "Whoever sees such a Vaiṣṇava jana, purifies all his 71 generations." Further, I think, the line suggests that the author meant 71 generations to fill up the whole length of one's dynasty or *vaṁśa*.

This reminds me of the usual Puranic formula for computing a *manvantara* :

caturyugāṇām hi sankhyātā sādḥikā hyekasaptatiḥ manvantaram.

And elsewhere¹ I have explained that here *caturyuga* means one generation and *manvantara* means one whole dynasty. Thus according to this formula one dynasty is made up of 71 generations or 71 generations will make a full *vaṁśa*. I have tried to show this by various arguments. But I had not been able to show directly that a *caturyuga* is actually used as a generation. But the above line from Narasinha Mehta vindicates the position taken up by me. Narasinha is a late author (of the 15th or 16th century), but that is no reason why we should discard his evidence. On the contrary, this shows that the tradition of 71 generations making up one whole family (dynasty or *vaṁśa*) was deep-rooted in India even in the 15th century.

¹ See 'The Manvantara'—*IHQ*, 1942, p. 208 ff and 'The Manvantara-caturyuga Method' in *Annals of BORI*, Silver Jubilee Volume.

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CĀTURVARNYA AS THE GĪTĀ TEACHES

By Shri K. M. MUNSHI

स्वभावजेन कौन्तेय निबद्धः स्वेन कर्मणा ।

Everyone is tethered to the task which his nature prescribes.

I

The *Gītā* starts with the fundamental position that *svabhāva* a man's individual nature, *svakarma* or the task appointed by his nature, and *svadharma*, or the law of his being or his own characteristic Truth or Duty, are inalienable and sacred for him. The individual nature of a man is, therefore, the basis of his personality ; the only centre of dynamic power which he possesses. By this emphasis Śrī Kṛṣṇa places human personality on a firm foundation. It is a thing of absolute and intrinsic value which at all times must command his loyalty. This loyalty is therefore a Dharma, not a means to an end, but an end in itself. It is neither derivative nor defeasible.

Human personality as an end in itself was recognised by the ancient Greeks and by Christ. To some extent it underlies the doctrine of modern democracy with its emphasis on political liberty and the rule of law which provides a basis for modern jurisprudence in democratic countries.

But the *Gītā* makes it the pivot of life. From my individual nature springs my characteristic activities ; only in pursuing these activities I must find my Truth ; such Truth alone will bring me to Him ; and it is only then that the individual personality becomes universal, not before. The *Gītā* pursues the emphasis on individual natures. It classifies them. It probes into the conditions on which their distinctiveness rests. It also provides a scheme of training and social synthesis by which every nature can rise higher so that to every man is opened the pathway of Yoga.

On the most superficial observation, the individual nature of a man appears to be conditioned by three Qualities, *Guṇas*. They are inherent in universal Nature. These Qualities are Purity, *sattva* ; Energy, *rajas* ; Darkness, *tamas*.²

Purity is luminous, taintless, and leads one to happiness and right knowledge. Energy springs from desire. Its principal characteristic is attachment, which harnesses a man to ceaseless activity. Darkness is the child of ignorance. It leads man to error, makes him heedless and ties him down to sleep and sloth.³

The measure and interplay of these Qualities in every individual nature determines its outlook, its characteristic activities, and the tasks which it is impelled to perform. They also inspire the direction of the urge which drives a man to work out his characteristic tasks.⁴ Even if a man, out of self delusion, decides to desist from such tasks a man cannot

¹ *Gītā*, XVIII. 60.

² *Ibid.*, XIV. 5. सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणाः प्रकृतिसंभवाः ।

³ *Ibid.*, XIV. 6-8. तत्र सत्त्वं निर्मलत्वात्प्रकाशकर्मनामयम् ।

सुखसंगेन बध्नाति ज्ञानसंगेन चानघ ॥

रजो रागात्मकं विद्धि तृष्णासंगसमुद्भवम् ।

तन्निबध्नाति कौन्तेय कर्मसंगेन देहिनम् ॥

तमस्त्वज्ञानजं विद्धि मोहनं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।

प्रमादालस्यनिद्राभिस्तन्निबध्नाति भारत ॥

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIV. 11-17.

give up doing them. His urge to perform the task dictated by his nature cannot be suppressed. His individual nature will not let him do so, even if he wants to do so. Driven by its irresistible urge, he must perform them.⁵ Only if he is driven to do so, he will perform them clumsily, as their slave and victim, not as their master.

If Purity dominates his nature, self control and knowledge will come easy to him.⁶ He will be able to harmonise his thought, word and deed easily. His approach of Yoga will be speedy and effective. If Energy predominates in him, his thirst for possession and power will make the harmonising process difficult.⁷ But when Darkness has a hold over him, he will remain deluded.⁸ He will never feel the need of harmony; if he does, sloth and indolence will never let him attempt it seriously.

If we survey the different types of individual natures of man, they fall into four categories viz. (A) Pure natures, (B) Energetic natures leavened by Purity, (C) Energetic natures influenced by Darkness, (D) Dark natures.

These natures are respectively called the Brāhman, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Sūdra natures.⁹

These words when used in the *Gitā*, denoted well accepted social distinctions of the time. The *R̥gveda Samhitā*, the earliest record of men, shows the caste in its formative stage. The Brāhmanas were being crystallised into a hereditary corporation devoted to ascetic life, high intellectual endeavour, religious practices and the profession of teaching. The military class though more fluid, was also setting down to a distinct social group. The men of the *viśas*—the villages—the general mass of the Aryans were the Vaiśyas. The rest, the unreclaimed of the Aryan culture, were called Anāryas, Dasyus, Dāsas; possibly a large section bore the name of Sūdra, which soon came to be applied to the general mass of the unreclaimed. Society was fluid; inter-marriages between these classes were frequent; men could change their profession and with it the class to which they belonged.

The most notable and respected family of the Vedic R̥sis was the Vāsiṣṭhas. Vasiṣṭha, the founder, was the son of a dancing girl,¹⁰ his unknown parentage was traced to God Varuṇa.¹¹ He was a warrior priest, and fought in the famous battle of Dāśarājña. His son, Śakti, a R̥si, died in battle.¹² His grandson, Parāśara, was born of a caṇḍālā; and he was a R̥si,¹³ who was no longer a warrior priest. Parāśara's son, Vyās, by a fisher-woman,¹⁴ became the greatest apostle of Aryan Culture. In life he was accepted as divine, and was later worshipped as an *avatāra* of God; Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śaṅkara in flesh and blood.¹⁵

The Bhṛguś were warrior priests. R̥cika, having been offended by the Haihayas, migrated to the Punjab, married King Gādhi's daughter and presented his father-in-law

⁵ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 60. स्वभावजेन कौन्तेय निबद्धः स्वेन कर्मेणा ।

कर्तुं नेच्छसि यन्मोहात्करिष्यस्यवशोऽपि तत् ॥

⁶ *Ibid.*, XIV. 17. सत्वात् संजायते ज्ञानम् ।

⁷ *Ibid.* रजसो लोभ एव च ।

⁸ *Ibid.* प्रसादमोहौ तमसो भवतोऽज्ञानमेव च ॥

⁹ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 41. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परंतप ।

कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥

¹⁰ *Rv.*, VII. 33, 12. युमेन ततं पृथिवि रयिष्यन्नप्सरसः परि जज्ञे वसिष्ठः ।

Vide also Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*, p. 121.

गणिकागर्भसंभूतो वसिष्ठश्च महामुनिः तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः संस्कारस्तत्र कारणम् ।

जातौ व्यास्तु कैवर्त्योः श्वाक्यास्तु पराशरः बहवोऽन्येपि विप्रत्वं प्राप्ता ये पूर्वमद्विजाः ॥

¹¹ *Rv.*, VII. 33. *Matsya* p. 145, 109-111. *Vāyu* pp. 59, 105-106.

¹² *Mbh.*, I. 176. 40. ¹³ See note 10.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* *Mbh.*, I. 63. 82, 83.

¹⁵ अचतुर्वेदो ब्रह्मा द्विबाहुरपरो हरिः । अमाललोचनः शंभुः भगवान् बादरायणः ॥

with a thousand horses.¹⁶ His son Jamadagni was a Ṛṣi and composed hymns and performed sacrifices in collaboration with king Gādhī's son Viśvāmitra.¹⁷ Viśvāmitra, an heir to the royalty of the Bharatas, gave up kingship to become a Ṛṣi.¹⁸ He was a warrior priest who fought Vasiṣṭha in the battle of the Ten Kings, but founded a school of Vedic learning. Jamadagni's son Paraśurāma, was a warrior priest par excellence and destroyed kings. He was the acknowledged master of the art of war and came to be accepted as the *avatāra* of God.¹⁹

But in the midst of this fluidity, there were two fundamental ideas which did not change.

Lifelong consecration to self discipline and learning was the primary duty of a Brāhmaṇa; and in consequence, the Brāhmaṇa was the acknowledged leader of society and as such was entitled to be maintained in such security and respect as would enable him to pursue his duties.

Warrior priests were common to all early societies. We find them also in Babylon, Egypt, Greece and even Rome. But with the progress of society and the growth of kingly power, the race became a parasite of royalty. In India the potent influence exercised by these two fundamental ideas has led to two remarkable results. First, the warrior priest slowly evolved into a living embodiment of culture; and secondly, there was a steady continuance of a race of men, who, independent of royal power, ensured the supremacy of the spirit over matter.

In the course of its social evolution, the human race has been characterized by two trends. Freedom of marriage comes to be restricted to a group and avocations tend to be hereditary. These factors which have a great share in stabilising society, intensely affected the social structure in ancient India. They also at a very early stage gave birth to ideas which influenced the collective will of men. In the later Saṁhitā period, the Fourfold Order of Society came to be accepted as a natural and inalienable synthesis. In the *Puruṣasūkta* of the *R̥gveda* the cosmos is viewed as a Person; and by sacrificing him the universe is produced. The Brāhmaṇas came from his mouth; from his hands, the Kings; the Vaiśyas were begotten from his thigh; the Śūdras from his feet.²⁰ Here, long prior to the *Gītā*, the Four-fold Order of Society was accepted as a divinely appointed social synthesis.

By the very nature of things a man is born into his father's social group. He grows up in its atmosphere. Ordinarily the individual nature is so pliable that it is moulded by the social environments in which it grows to maturity. Sometimes, however, an individual has a nature fundamentally different from his dominant group nature, or, by accident, he falls into alien associations. Then he strikes out his own path and rises or falls into a different group. This is the normal, unpurposive process by which individual natures adjust themselves to social levels.

Before the *Gītā* was taught the Four-fold Order of Society—*Cāturvarṇya*—had come to be predominantly hereditary. If moderns were not blinded by their own self-perfection and the crude social experiments made in Europe, there would be nothing surprising in this. The original texture of human nature is woven by his ancestors. A better race or specialised faculties are inconceivable without suitable mating. The cattle rearers and the horse breeders know this better than those who claim to know about the rearing of men.

But when heredity comes to be over emphasized and social security is prized above freedom social groups become fossilised. They become castes, into which one can only be

¹⁶ *Mbh.*, III. 115, V. 118.

¹⁷ *Tai. Saṁhitā*, V. 4. 2.

¹⁸ *Ramāyaṇa*, Balakāṇḍa 56. 23, 24 and 65. 20-27.

¹⁹ मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नारसिंहश्च वामनः । रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्किरेव च ॥

²⁰ *Rv.*, X. 90. यत्पुरुषेण इविषां देवा यज्ञमर्तन्वत ॥

ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद्वाह्य राजन्यः कृतः

ऊरु तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ॥

²¹ See note 9.

born and outside which one cannot marry. Individual natures are denied evolution on their own lines ; patternisation destroys vitality ; endeavour after a fresh integration of life is stifled ; personality is dwarfed.

In such a society accident of birth is everything, individual nature, if non-conforming, an excrescence to be repressed or penalised.

The caste system was the predominant feature of many ancient societies. Elsewhere, it lacked the urge to reintegrate its vitality from age to age ; it become lifeless, and disappeared. Not so in India. It has braved all dangers and retained its vigour. It has preserved ; it has conserved ; it has met new situations with fresh solutions. This is solely due to the outlook taught by the *Gitā*. This Gospel has provided a new content and meaning to the Four-fold Order of society ; and imparted an undying spark of vitality which enables the social structure to defy decay.

II

Individual Temperament.

The *Gitā* transfers the emphasis from birth to the individual nature of man. Individuals are divided into Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras. According as is his nature everyone falls under one or the other of the four categories,²¹ irrespective of the parentage from which he springs or the means by which he acquires it.

The Pure or the Brāhmaṇa nature is dominated by Purity. It is characterized by love, self control and self-discipline, by purity, forbearance, and uprightness ; by knowledge, both of the higher and the lower order ; and above all, by faith. The man of this nature worships high aspiring deities. His nature declines to pay homage to men or deities who do not draw him higher. His taste is pure and simple. He loves food which is soft and digestible or which promotes health, vigour, life and joy. He does not perform rituals from a sordid motive.²²

A man with the Brāhmaṇa nature has innate reverence for the gods, the learned, the wise, and his own teacher in particular. Humility towards the learned and aspiring—the true mark of genuine culture—is his. When he speaks, he speaks the truth, but not harshly. He harbours no evil, and is serene by temperament. His speech and action are restrained ; his purity, undefiled. His vision is universal ; in diversity, he always finds unity.

Studious of making every act of his perfect, he is indifferent to results. He pursues his task undeterred, even if it is unpleasant. Even when it happens to be alluring, he is detached. He can discriminate between tasks and tasks ; and knows what to do and when. He also knows the tasks which are bitter, sour, salt-laden, overhot or free. He, therefore, knows his tasks and the limitations which his nature imposes upon him. And knowing them all, he consecrates his life to them.²³

The man of Virile nature—the Kṣatriya nature—is different. This type of nature is actuated by Energy. He who possesses it, is brave, spirited, firm, adroit, heroic, generous and lordly. His heart is lifted to forceful and fearsome divinities.

Such a man is of a fastidious taste. He loves tasty food, sharp, astringent, bitter, sour, salt-laden, overhot or burning. Ambition or insincere display accompanies the rituals he performs. If he undergoes rigorous discipline, it is to secure repute, honour, or respect ; or, as a feat wherewith to impress the multitude. His outlook has universality. The underlying unity of things escapes him. He loves analysis, division, subdivision.

Such a man cannot stick to his task, if it is unpleasant. His prime motive in all activities is to satisfy his desire or egotism. He pursues his task passionately, intent on gain or greed. His motives are not always pure ; he is willing to inflict injury ; he is swayed by joy or grief in all he does. Whatever he loves, he thinks is right ; what he hates, is to him always wrong. Behind the urge which drives him on is the strength of attachment to a desire for results. Sense satisfaction is what he seeks.²⁴

These traits are common to the nature of an ordinary energetic, worldly man. But most of them are common to the Virile or Kṣatriya nature as well as to the Gain-loving or Vaiśya

nature. But there is a marked difference between the two natures. What makes the distinction between them is the presence or absence of the urge to rise higher. In Virile natures, like the one which Arjuna possessed when Śrī Kṛṣṇa began his discourse, Purity exists as a subsidiary quality, transmuting Energy into a force wherewith to attain self-control and consecration. In the Vaiśya or the Gain-loving nature, Darkness prevents Energy from being so transmuted. Energy is kept tied to self-satisfaction. The man with such a nature is content with possessions.²⁵ He pursues tasks which yield gain. He tills the soil, he herds the cows, he buys and sells.²⁶ Sense delights are to him the aims of life. Darkness keeps him fettered to attachment, wrath and fear and prevents his ascent.

The subservient or the Śūdra nature is dominated by Darkness;²⁷ Energy, if at all, is only its subsidiary quality. Those natures can be found plentifully around us. The man who has this nature—whoever he is and whatever his heredity—pays homage to the grim deities of the underworld. His self control takes the shape of self torture, both of body and mind. He loves food which is stale, tasteless or putrid. If he lights the sacrificial fire, it is regardless of piety and without faith. His attempts at self-discipline are born of bigotry, inflicting torture on himself, directed to another's ruin. His gifts are graceless; they are given to the undeserving, at inopportune moments, with contempt. His vision lacks detachment; it is without clarity; it only spots the effect but is behind the cause.²⁸

A man possessing the Śūdra nature deludes himself. He will forsake his task at the slightest provocation. Whatever he does, he does it recklessly or to encompass another's ruin. He lacks self-control. He is stubborn and vulgar; perfidious and malicious; slothful or dilatory; or oppressed by mental distress. He has no discrimination. He sees right things as wrong. He is often mastered by sleep or fear, lust or grief or despondency. Self delusion is his joy. He is subservient; his nature prescribes this outlook. He cannot escape it.²⁹

These four categories of individual natures are not artificial. They are found among men. On this natural division Śrī Kṛṣṇa builds the firm foundation of the Four-fold Order of society, *Cāturvarṇya*. The Four Orders are those of the Brāhmaṇa, the men of the Pure nature, devoted to high aspiration and self-perfection; the Kṣatriyas or the men of Virile nature who are wedded to achievements; the Vaiśyas or the men of Gain-loving nature who pursue economic productivity and live self-complacent lives; and the Śūdras, the men of subservient nature, who love no higher task than service. Each of these types of men has its distinctive attributes, its characteristic tastes and tasks.

Cāturvarṇya, the Four-fold Order, is not made by man. Nor is it a bundle of four castes. It is a social synthesis, a natural fabric; a creation instinct with life. "I created the Four-fold Order," says Śrī Kṛṣṇa "on the basis of Qualities, natures and tasks."³⁰ It is not the caste system as we know it. It is a universal and eternal social synthesis, inherent in the nature of men.

In giving to the Four-fold Order of society a new content and meaning, the *Gītā* accepts two facts which are generally missed by the admirers of Westernism. First, men are born unequal in nature, aptitude, capacity and outlook, the Rousseauian myth of equality notwithstanding. Secondly, the nature of man apart from its basic strength and aptitude is moulded by hereditary influences; by the early environments of the group in which he is born; by the lessons taught to him by experience; and lastly, by self-imposed training. The force of heredity in ordinary men is the most potent, the force of self-discipline, the least.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa recognises the shaping influence of heredity and, in the beginning appeals to Arjuna to pursue the task to which he is born:

To a Kṣatriya born

No higher task is appointed

²⁵ Vide XIV, 7 quoted in note 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 44. कृषिगोरक्षवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म स्वभावजम्

²⁷ Vide XIV, 8 quoted in note 3.

²⁸ See note 24 above.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, IV. 13. चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः ।

Than a righteous war.
 Unbidden have the gates of Heaven
 Been opened for thee.
 Happy the Kṣatriya, indeed,
 To whom is given
 A chance like this to fight,³¹

But this is the beginning, not the end of the message.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa's call is to strengthen the weakest of the forces, self-discipline, till it overcomes heredity, environments and the twists imposed by experience. He urges man to challenge the normal order of influences and to ascend to Him.³² For every man is open the way of Yoga. Self alone can save the self.³³ What heredity, environments and experience have shaped can be recreated afresh on the lines of one's own basic constitution by pursuing one's own characteristic task and Truth.

All beings are alike to Me,
 None do I hate, and none favour
 They that worship Me with devotion
 They live in Me
 And I, them.³⁴

Thus everyone can live in Him, irrespective of birth or the type of nature he has. Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself is a born Kṣatriya. The royal sages who taught the same message before Him were Kṣatriyas by birth,³⁵ and so was Arjuna. Even those whom the ignorant consider low-born can reach Him. Those who *know*, know no difference between a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya, nay, even between a Śūdra, a woman and a man born in sin. Not even against a *Cāṇḍāla*, the child of Darkness, can the gateway of Yoga be closed.³⁶

The caste system or any other rigid system which denies to an individual the right to develop his nature to its full stature goes counter to the teachings of the *Gītā*, is unnatural. It will destroy the individual and end by being destroyed itself. Śrī Kṛṣṇa's message, therefore, supplies the vitality which would re-integrate the Four-fold Order generation after generation. The Four-fold Order, as taught in the *Gītā*, is a social pyramid at the top of which stands the men of Purity. The others can rise to the top. There is no bar to this ascent except lack of aspiration and of the Will to Become. Its path cuts across all natural

³¹ *Ibid.*, II. 31, 32. स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसि ।
 धर्म्याद्धि युद्धाच्छ्रेयोऽन्यत् क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते ॥
 यदृच्छया चोपपन्नं स्वर्गद्वारमपावृतम् ।
 सुखिनः क्षत्रियाः पार्थ लभन्ते युद्धदमीशम् ॥

³² *Ibid.* मयि चानन्ययोगेन । XII. 10.
 मन्मना भव मद्भक्तो । IX. 34, XVIII. 65.
 मय्यासक्तमनाः पार्थ etc.] VII.]
 मय्येव मन आधत्स्व मयि बुद्धि निवेशय । XII. 8.

³³ *Ibid.*, VI. 5. उद्धरेदात्मनाऽऽत्मानम् ।

³⁴ *Ibid.*, IX. 29. समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः ।
 ये भजन्ति तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहम् ।

³⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 1, 2. इमं विवस्वते योगं प्रोक्तवानहमव्ययम् ।
 विवस्वान्मनवे प्राह मनुर्दिवाकवेऽब्रवीत् ॥
 एवं परंपराप्राप्तमिमं राजर्षयो विदुः ।

³⁶ *Ibid.*, IX. 32. मां हि पार्थ व्यपाश्रित्य येऽपि स्युः पापयोनयः ।
 त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम् ॥

and artificial barriers created by heredity, tradition and social environments. In the same way, whatever the privilege or opportunity, the nature which cannot conquer *tamas* or Darkness falls; and if it comes to be endowed with devilish gifts it sinks, unredeemed, to depths unfathomable.

No man's birth, environment or even nature, therefore stands in the way of his attaining Yoga as the *Gītā* teaches it. If he is prepared to rise he will see light; he will try to find his own Truth as his own nature indicates. In search of his Truth, his will will grow strong. Dynamic unity will follow. Maladjustment of the Qualities will disappear. The bonds of imperfection will fall off. In this way each nature will tend to grow perfect, perfect in its own characteristic way; but perfect all the same.

III

Social Systems Compared.

After heredity, social environments provide the most potent force in human development. Psycho-analysis has been groping its way to the realisation of what was clear to the ancient seers. Men do not live alone. They live, move and have their being in herds. They bring up their offsprings according to the law of the herd. Classless society is as much a myth as the equality of men.

Society or a nation is not a blind aggregate of individuals. It is an organism with a nature, characteristic tasks and its own Truth. It seeks its own self-fulfilment. It has progressive movements corresponding with the progressive movements in the life of its powerful members.

These powerful individuals, the leaders in all departments of life, provide their social group with the urge, the strength, the Will to Become, and give it dynamic unity. In search for dynamic unity the leaders and the social aggregate react on each other. If, therefore, the attainment of Him through Yoga is the ultimate goal of life, a man's passage to Perfection must be made less difficult. This can only be done by a hierarchic arrangement of social groups. If the end is to ascend from Darkness, through Energy, to Purity, the Pure natures must be grouped as the top layer of society.

The Four-fold Order of society, according to *the Gītā*, must imply a hierarchy of four social groups ranged, viz. of men of Pure nature, or Virile nature, of Gain-loving nature and of Subservient nature. Purity must be the apex; Subservience the bottom.³⁷ Under any other arrangement ideals would cease to ennoble life; men of devilish gifts would shape social environments. Confusion would follow. Following this fundamental conception, in India, the class of men with Pure natures have been accepted as a class to be respected, admired, and followed.

In the social system of Japan and Germany we find a social system, the top layer of which consists of men of the Virile nature. The men of Kṣatriya natures are the leaders of life. Energy is the highest of qualities. Heroism attains unprecedented heights. For instance *harakiri*, self-imposed death as the highest duty, is a rare and noble tradition which sublimates Energy.

These men of Virile natures have created a social structure suited to their nature. They have inspired huge masses of men with limitless ambition and strength. The object of this effort is power. In pursuit of it they have regimented life thoroughly. The State or the Nation is a god demanding from every man the surrender of his nature, his task and his truth, and enforcing the demand by force. The individual is a cell, the social aggregate a giant body living on it. In forging this organism, every nature is crushed to a pattern; every task is superimposed. Slogans have to be accepted as collective truth. Men of Purity become indifferent or sink into a base parasitism, following, not the truth as they see it, but the wisdom of collective truth as the masters want it. Action is not the expression of a free, individual dynamic unity; it is a well-drilled performance, conducted under

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XIV, 18.

ऊर्ध्वं गच्छन्ति सत्त्वस्थाः मध्ये तिष्ठन्ति राजसाः ।
जघन्यगुणवृत्तिस्था अधो गच्छन्ति तामसाः ॥

the pressure of habit or fear. Detachment and individual truths are *les majestes*. Stern discipline, imposed from outside, is contraposed to free self-discipline. The individual does not care to attain Him. He does not in the course of his ascent move towards a wider sense of oneness with all, seeing Him in all, and all in Him. He becomes an automaton under compelling uniformity which destroys his self expression and in course of time leaves no individual urge to seek a universal consciousness.

In Britain the social structure discloses a curious hierarchy. The Gain-loving are at the top; the Pure, coming next, are maintained in independence; the Virile come next. The hierarchy is not the result of purposive collective effort; it has grown with Britain's greatness, as a result of her people's wonderful practical sense.

The men of Gain-loving nature dominate life. To produce, to distribute and to acquire wealth is the highest virtue. Money is the supreme good. Rulers of men buy and sell shares in armament factories and are deemed incorruptible. Thought, learning and heroism are also bought and sold. The press buys, sells and distributes the truth at the behest of its paymasters, the rich. The rich impose action, not by fear, but by playing upon the greed of men.

The vision of the dominant class in a society which is dominated by the Gain-loving is circumscribed by a material outlook. It breeds capitalism; low paid slaves by millions who toil so that a few might enjoy the fruits; slums and soulless poverty; ostentatious charity to plaster sores without curing them; the destruction of family life and the growth of female traffic. The man who seeks Perfection has either to lose his soul by selling his independence to meet the rising cost of life, or to be content with being looked upon as a crank and be denied the leadership to society.

The Gain-loving, however, dominate the social structure in England only to a limited extent. A newly rich can gate-crash into the highest society, but cannot enter the most influential class. This class, though not looked upon with veneration as in India, commands sufficient respect to prevent society from falling spiritually.

This class consists of the prize-winners at the British Schools. In school they dominate their companions; when out of school, they take to the Church or to education, scholarship, law or literature. As Oxford dons or judges or clergymen they can lead a life devoted to high learning and self-discipline. They are left free to voice their views and influence life. They are maintained above the sordid struggle for existence. They are the Brāhmaṇas, though not accepted formally as such. It is they who shape the collective life of the society, and have saved England from being overwhelmed by the maelstrom of materialism.

Russia is making a new experiment to save society from materialism, but without losing its worldly advantages. The top layer of the social structure consists of an aristocracy of active public workers. It is ranged in a hierarchy, drilled, controlled and directed by iron discipline into an army. Its composition is independent of birth or wealth. The gain motive is carefully eschewed. The top layer is of Kṣatriya natures but individual ambition is merged into the ambition of its group. The Gain-loving natures are deprived of all scope to make or retain wealth for individual satisfaction. The State is the god as in Japan and Germany and claims the total loyalty of men. It is the only owner, and the Gain-loving natures have by compulsion to take to Virility and Subservience. The individual is kept in comfort, but has to be the subservient instrument of the governing class.

Material welfare of the society being the only aim of the collective will, the supremacy of individual truth is denied. Freedom to pursue one's nature or the task which it dictates, is a crime to be scrupulously stamped out.

The men who seek self-fulfilment or who walk the path of self discipline are nuisances. The path of self perfection is considered the path of folly. Beyond matter there is nothing. Attainment of godhood is a myth, invented by knaves and believed by fools.

This godless, soulless experiment rules out individual freedom and the need for self perfection. It has been born in despair. It is being enforced at the point of the bayonet. Its recent military triumphs have invested it with the halo of grandeur. But it is the product of a day; it is undergoing vital changes every day. And it will have to survive a few centuries, before its permanent value can be judged.

This system negatives the postulates of the *Gītā*. The individual according to it has no supra-physical basis, no freedom, no urge to spiritual perfection. Men cannot attain godhood. Society has no other but a material foundation; and Pure natures have no primacy.

It has not been the lot of Subservient natures to be given the leadership of society except under the palace rule of autocrats. Under such a rule, clever flunkys become the Best by pandering to the whims and vices of their masters and acquire ascendancy over the Pure, the Virile and the Gain-loving. The Pure have to sink into bards, the Virile into mercenaries, the Gain-loving into bribe givers. But the Subservients have never been known to have evolved a philosophy of life which could give them any but a fleeting moment of influence.

A well regulated and stable social existence is essential to the growth of the individual. Hence Śrī Kṛṣṇa utters a warning against wars and revolutions. Social earthquakes, like physical ones, endanger life and destroy growth.

War is a disaster. It corrupts morals and weakens the social bonds. It destroys the respect for elders and teachers. It has to be shunned till resistance become the highest duty, when Truth has to be pursued without attachment, fear, or wrath.

Immemorial traditions and religious duties have to be respected. Time honoured customs have their functions. Men who by their individual growth do not need them, have still to honour them lest the ignorant may lapse into barbarism. For, the best among men, even sages like Janaka, pursued tasks with an eye to the welfare of humanity.

Whatever the Best do,
To that must lesser folks conform;
The world only follows
Whatever the standard that they set up.³⁸

Customary practices hold social life together; that is the strength of the ordinary mortals. Breaking them up will not help. It may destroy; it does not lead to progress.

Though nothing binds Me; even I
Follow the round of duties;
For, men only follow the ways I tread.
These worlds would be rooted out
Should I but leave my tasks undone.
I would then create chaos
And the Creations' doom would follow.³⁹

This recognises that human evolution to be fruitful has to be slow and steady. Arjuna's may go forward if they can. But—

Let not the wise lead astray
The man whom partial knowledge blinds.⁴⁰

Lawlessness helps nobody, neither the crowds nor the Arjuna's. The Arjuna's must set themselves free and like Pillars of Fire lead men out of bondage.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, III. 21. यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ।

स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनु वर्तते ॥

³⁹ *Ibid.*, III. 22, 23, 24. न मे पार्थास्ति कर्तव्यं त्रिषु लोकेषु किञ्चन ।

नानावाप्तमवाप्त्यं वर्ते एव च कर्मणि ॥

यदि त्वाहं न वर्तेयं जातु कर्मण्यतन्द्रितः ।

मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥

उत्सीदियुरिमे लोका न कुर्या कर्म चेदहम् ।

संकरस्य च कर्ता स्यामुपहन्त्यामिमाः प्रजाः ।

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 26. न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेदज्ञानां कर्मसंगिनाम् ।

Thus knowing
The ancient pursuers of freedom worked
On the pathways of ordered life.
Take up, hence, the tasks—
These Ancients wrought in days of yore.⁴¹

Even the message of the *Gītā* itself, has to be imparted only to the fit.

Repeat not this word of Mine
To any who in discipline lacks,
Or to any who shuns Devotion,
Or to one who lends unwilling ear
Or to him who hates Me.⁴²

Arjuna must attain Perfection himself but not endanger social progress. Man should emancipate himself, but he need not do so at the cost of his less gifted fellows.

In this way alone are the needs of social security adjusted to the free growth of the individual.

But let there be no mistake. Truth is and must remain an individual, not a collective affair. It cannot be taught. It must be lived up to by each one for himself. A man to be yogi, must be absolutely alone, a lover of solitude.⁴³ His friends, his family, his world will fail to understand him. His words will be misunderstood, his acts deplored. At every step he will be overwhelmed to learn that his fellows have no desire to know his Truth, or even their Truth, that they seek not freedom but some alien task. But he will have to seek His strength.

The same to censure and to praise
Wrapped in silence,
Content with what he gets,
Unattached to home,
Of steadfast will, to Me devoted—
He alone of all
Is to Me most dear.⁴⁴

“Better to die in one's own Truth”—no greater message was given to the world. If I am to realise it I must pass men by and march onwards to my own Truth. I must persevere in my pilgrimage, even if all fail me. That is Freedom ; that is attaining Him.

For no man it is too late to be free.

In all ages and lands, men who have towered over the multitude are those who have stood, fought and died for their own Truth. History, viewed thus is an unbroken procession of these torch bearers ; men of differing natures and gifts who across time and frontiers are united in a brotherhood of characteristic self-endeavour to redeem Truth with their life.

IV

Social Evolution in India Till c. 1200 A.D.

The ideal and practice of *Cāturvarṇya* have had mutual reactions in shaping the social evolution of India. The castes tried to adhere to the rigid isolation of birth by claiming to

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, IV. 15. एव ज्ञात्वा कृतं कर्म पूर्वैरपि मुमुक्षुभिः ।

कुरु कर्मैव तस्मात्त्वं पूर्वैः पूर्वतरं कृतम् ॥

⁴² *Ibid.*, XVIII. 67. इदं ते नातपस्काय नाभक्ताय कदाचन ।

न चाशुश्रूषवे वाच्यं न च मां योऽभ्यसूयति ॥

⁴³ *Ibid.* विविक्तदेशसेवित्वम् । विविक्तसेवी ।

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, XII. 19. तुल्यनिन्दास्तुतिर्मौनी संतुष्टो येन केनचित् ।

अनिकेतः स्थिरमतिर्भक्तिमान्मे प्रियो नरः ॥

⁴⁵ *Mbh.*, Shanti Parva Chapt. 65.

perform—and not without success—the tasks assigned to them by Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The dynamic teachings of Śrī Kṛṣṇa on the other hand, readjusted social relations from time to time by encouraging a shift from birth to individual nature and tasks. These mutual reactions have produced in India a social organisation which is both tough and powerful and yet possesses a wonderful vitality to adjust itself to new circumstances. Recent generations of men in India have been so blinded by an admiration for the social apparatus of the West that they have failed to appraise at its true value the marvel which the social system in India has been and is growing into.

This social organisation threw up the imperial power of Pataliputra. It consolidated North India from 700 B.C., drove the Greeks out of the country and brought imperial unity to India under Candragupta Maurya and Aśoka. India became one of the most powerful countries of the ancient world till 100 A.D. The *Cāturvarṇya* then rendered it possible to usher in the classical age under the Imperial Guptas from 320 A.D. to 500 A.D. Kālidāsa's works, if placed in this period, reflect the beauty and vigour of the *Varnāśramadharma*.

In considering the influence of the *Cāturvarṇya* idea, it must not be forgotten that at all times the Hindu social system has been expansive. It grew narrow in defence only. Whenever opportunity presented itself it asserted its highly absorptive power. In spite of its emphasis on hereditary it was never slow to give place to merit or to adjust itself to new conditions.

The Four-fold Order, as already stated, was originally devised to universalise the social system so as to absorb the non-Aryans. Viśvāmitra was considered the father of many non-Aryan tribes. In the *Mahābhārata* Indra enjoins Emperor Mandhātā to bring all foreign people like the Yavanas into the fold of Dharma.⁴⁵

In the dialogue between Nahuṣa and Yudhiṣṭhira the doctrine of the *Gītā* is emphasized by the latter.

"If a Sūdra possesses these qualities", answers Yudhiṣṭhira, "then, verily, he is not a Sūdra, but a Brāhmaṇa. On the other hand, if the Brāhmaṇa has no such qualities, he is a Sūdra."

"Then", remarks Nahuṣa, "the hereditary nature of the castes is untenable."

"In view of the mixture of castes, it is difficult to determine the caste. Those who know the Truth, therefore, only attach importance to the qualities of man" replies Yudhiṣṭhira.⁴⁶

An old poet in unequivocal terms asserts that a Brāhmaṇa is not one by birth but only by self-discipline. He then illustrates it by the example of the Vāsiṣṭhas, the greatest family of Ṛṣis known to tradition.⁴⁷

Candragupta married the daughter of the Greek Seleucus. The Besnagar column inscription records that the Greek Heleodorus, the son of Dion, was a devotee of Vāsudeva.⁴⁸ The Yēūchis entered India and were absorbed into the *Cāturvarṇya*.⁴⁹ So were the Greeks and the Hūnas. Many Greeks were munificent donors to Indian shrines as could be found from the caves of Nasik and Karle.⁵⁰ Many Indian kings are recorded in inscriptions to have married Hūna princesses.⁵¹ From and after, the seventh century there was more than one Hūna ruler in the country who were accepted at Kṣatriyas.

I am not inclined to believe with some scholars that the warrior classes which were called Gūjaras generally, and whose family names were Pratihāra, Cāhamāna, Paramāra, Cālukya, and Cāvḍa and from whom the Rajputs of today are descended, were foreigners who entered India in the sixth or the seventh century and were absorbed

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Vanaparva Chapt. 180. Vss 20 ff.

⁴⁷ See note 10 above.

⁴⁸ *JRAS*, 1909 pp. 1053-1087.

JBRAS, XXIII, p. 104.

⁴⁹ Smith, *Early History of India*, (IV Edn.) p. 288.

⁵⁰ *EL.*, VII, pp. 53-55.

Ibid., VII, p. 90.

Ibid., XVIII, p. 325.

⁵¹ e.g., Allatā of the Gubila dynasty married a Hūna princess named Hariyadevi *IA.*, XXXIX, p. 191.

into Hinduism near Mount Abu.⁵² But one need not therefore imagine that they were in unadulterated descent from Śrī Rāmacandra's brother Lakṣmaṇa as the Gūrjara Emperors claimed.⁵³ Undoubtedly there must have been some admixture of blood, and cultural upraise till they emerged in the eighth century as full fledged Kṣatriyas. The Shahi kings of Kabul who were Brāhmanas⁵⁴ certainly must have been immigrants before the 4th century.

The period from 550 A.C. to 1000 A.D., the neglected stretch of Indian history, saw the rise of Imperial Kanauj,⁵⁵ the political and cultural centre of India. Under Mihira Bhoja it attained a grandeur which stands reflected in the works of Rājaśekhara, its poet laureate.⁵⁶

During this period *Cāturvarṇya* is seen not as a mere conglomeration of castes but a social synthesis.

In theory the four social corporations existed throughout the country. But they were not water-tight compartments, nor did they extend to the whole country. In fact, many social groups lived unrelated to *Varṇāśrama*. But throughout the ages educated men, by collective willing, organised life according to the theory. New groups were given place in the scheme by ingenuous explanations.

The first and the most important of these corporations naturally was of the Brāhmanas. The Brāhmana created and guarded both the spirit and form of the culture which harmonised the whole country. He married the daughters of the other corporations freely.

To pursue learning and culture in all its aspects, to study, to teach, to guide others towards Dharma, these were his principal group tasks. Disciplined life devoted to idealism was his universal *svadharmā*.

The Brāhmana was the steel-frame of the social organisation. He had no force behind him except that of character and persuasion. He was expected to lead a life of comparative poverty and stern discipline. He had no wealthy endowments to support his luxury. Though the creator and custodian of a magnificent culture and the guide, philosopher and friend of all, he undertook his duties in return for scanty and precarious gifts. Worldly pursuits or rich living deprived him of his prestige, his office of a teacher and the voluntary patronage on which he lived.

The Brāhmanas no doubt took to the profession of arms, and even ruled over kingdoms. Haricandra, the first known king of Gūrjaradeśa, was a Brāhmana.⁵⁷ The king of Ujjayini, as Yuan Chwang records, was a Brāhmana⁵⁸ and so were the founders of the lines of the Paramāras and the Cāhamānas.⁵⁹ So was the king of Sind, who was slain by Muhammad Kasim in 712 A.C.⁶⁰ and the Śāhi kings (883-1026 A.C.) of Afghanistan and Punjab who fought Mahmud of Ghazna.⁶¹

But a Brāhmana king was not priest-king; he ceased to be a priest and became a king. Even he had to have a Brāhmana *purohita* wedded to self-denying life. Some Brāhmanas no doubt traded and many tilled the land. But, the corporation as a whole pursued its self-appointed task with a singleness of purpose, which has few parallels in history.

In the seventh and eighth centuries the old Vedic *Āśramas* disappeared. Their place was taken by great universities, temples, monasteries and educational institutions spread throughout the country. There learning was pursued and tradition vitalised by intensive training. The home of every pundit was also an educational institution, where deserving young men got food and education free of charge. The village pundit drew his inspiration from the nearest city, where the learned of the district congregated.

Even in the small portion of India from the Godavari to Mount Abu there were centres of learning at Nasik, Broach, Malva, Āśāpallī, Khetakapura, Valabhī, Verāvala, Anandapura,

⁵² Munshi, *The Imperial Gūrjaras*, p. 15.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapters II, IV.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 99-101 and the authorities quoted there.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36 and the authorities quoted there and Appendix A (1) p. 257.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37 and the authorities quoted there.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Appendix B. p. 260.

Bhillamāla and Ujjayinī. Of these Nasik, Valabhī, Bhillamāla and Ujjayinī were, to use the modern phrase, university Towns. Yuan Chwang found similar centres all over the country. Nālandā, described in glowing colours by the illustrious pilgrim,⁶² gives a picture of one of the great universities of all time. Bāṇa's description of Divākarmisra's āśrama⁶³ was not fiction but a fact common in the country when his friend Śrī Harṣa ruled north India.

The great corporation of Brāhmaṇas with thousands of educational institutions all over the country and possibly hundreds of thousands of homes illumined by intensive cultural activity, provided not only religion and ritual but law, ethics, philosophy, thought, literature and art; medicine, astronomy, mathematics and other sciences; the science of state-craft and the practice of war. It provided the means of social uplift by education, ethical training and the spread of knowledge to everyone who was willing to come within the sphere of its influence. Though it was spread over the country in the days when it took years to go from one end of it to another, it represented the collective consciousness and will of the country.

There were various kinds of Brāhmaṇas. The *paṇḍit* was the repository of learning, ritual and tradition. The family priest had his own functions to perform; so had the physician who saved life and the astrologer who dispensed hope and consolation with the aid of the stars. There were Brāhmaṇa ministers attached to every kingly house. They softened, if not controlled, the vagaries of autocrats by imposing on them a standard of traditional conduct prescribed by the *Śrutis* and the *Purāṇas*. There were Brāhmaṇa warriors and ministers who were not merely men of arms but statesmen of recognised worth. The *Sandhivigrahakas* or ambassadors, and the professional court-writers were in most cases Brāhmaṇas. There were of course, the village *Purāṇikas* and the village priests who catered to the lowly in their own language and were the messengers of Dharma in far away places. They constituted an agency of social uplift, which brought an ever-expanding circle of adherents into the folds of *Cāturvarṇya*.

There were also outstanding examples of learning or character who in every generation set up the standard. They re-lived the ideals for which the culture stood. By their outstanding intellectual, legal or scientific achievement, they kept India ahead of other cultured nations of the world. Above them all stood the Yogi. He might belong to any stage; a celibate (*Brahmacārī*) or a householder (*Gṛhastha*), a hermit (*Vānaprastha*), or an ascetic (*Sanyāsī*). By intensive self-culture, he attained a personality which was free from attachment, fear and anger. He observed the great vows, and acquired power and perfection which was not far removed from divinity. He was for his generation an active centre of Āryan re-integration. And there were many such throughout the land.

When *Cāturvarṇya* was first conceived, the corporation of Brāhmaṇa was professional rather than hereditary. It was interdependent with the Kṣatriya or the martial corporation, which was also drawn from the same class and was imbued with the same passionate devotion for Dharma. Janaka Vaideha and Yājñavalkya were not far removed from one another. The king was not complete without his Brāhmaṇa preceptor.⁶⁴ Sudāsa could not exist without Vasiṣṭha, Candragupta Maurya without Cāṇakya, Śrī Harṣa without Dandin. The *Satāpatha Brāhmaṇa* laid down that the *śrotṛiya* and the king were both the upholders of Dharma.⁶⁵ 'A king must first find a *purohita*, for he was the half soul of the king.'⁶⁶ 'Both together led to the eminence of each.'⁶⁷ The kingly power had no meaning unless it was coupled with performance of sacrifices requiring hundreds of Brāhmaṇas, or with

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Satāpatha Br.* IV. 1.4.6.

तस्मादु क्षत्रियेण कर्म करिष्यमाणेनोपसर्तव्य एव ब्राह्मणः । स ह वैस्मै तद् ब्रह्मप्रसूतं कर्मध्यते ।

⁶⁵ *Ibi.*, V.4.45. एष च श्रोत्रियश्चेतौ ह वै द्वौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतौ ।

⁶⁶ *Ait. Br.*, 34.8. अर्धात्मा ह वा एष क्षत्रियस्य यत्पुरोहितः ।

⁶⁷ *Tait. Samhitā* V, 1.10.3.

तस्मादं ब्राह्मणो राजन्यवानत्यन्य ब्राह्मणं तस्माद्वाजन्यो ब्राह्मणवानत्यन्यं राजन्यम् ।

munificent grants to them. The cultural achievements of the Gupta empire could not be conceived without the complete collaboration which existed between the two corporations.

The king's primary duty was to uphold Dharma.⁶⁸ The highest praise for a king, as in the case of Dharasena II of Valabhī, was that he got his subjects to observe the rules of conduct laid down by the *Smṛtis*.⁶⁹ The Gupta emperors were as accomplished as highly educated Brāhmaṇas. Dharasena III of Valabhī is described as gratifying the minds of the learned by his pursuit of knowledge.⁷⁰ His son Dhruvasena II was an adept in grammar as well as in the arts of government.⁷¹ Śrī Harṣa, in spite of his absorbing pre-occupations as described by Yuan Chwang, was himself a man of great learning, an author, a friend and patron of authors. A practical moralist who had taken the vow of constancy, he had foresworn wine and flesh. The ideal king was described as one in whose kingdom there was none who was averse to Dharma, none in distress, none poor, none vicious or miserly, none deserving punishment, none down-trodden.⁷²

The Kṣatriyas were highly educated and learned in the Śāstras. Most of them were the pupils of Brāhmaṇa preceptors. The study of the *Vedas* and the *Smṛtis*, the *Upanvedas* and the *Purāṇas* was a necessary equipment for a king.

Alberuni, in the eleventh century, found that the Brāhmaṇas taught the *Vedas* to the Kṣatriyas.⁷³ Rudradāman, the descendant of a foreigner, knew grammar, music, logic and other Śāstras in addition to the art of war.⁷⁴

In theory and by force of enlightened public opinion the principal royal function was to keep the subjects on the straight path of the *Dharmaśāstras*. His privilege was to wage wars of conquest and glory. Sovereignty, while it was denied interference in matters religious and moral, had some scope during wars. But the waging of wars had its limitations, which rendered it as innocuous as it could be. The king had to rely upon the army which commonly consisted of the Kṣatriya corporation of his locality. Its leaders considered themselves as descendants of Purāṇic kings. In the hands of a king, therefore, they could be heroes, but never mercenaries.

Life was regulated in the country by the canons of *Cāturvarṇya* contained in the *Śāstras*. Authority to destroy the structure of life, was felt a danger greater than the involved in the multiplicity of kings. Throughout the country, the Kṣatriya corporation was one, inspired by the self-same traditions. It provided the requisite sanction of physical coercion against lawless elements of society. So the organisation of life secured both cultural development and general security. Naturally, therefore, there was no urge to favour the concentration of power in the hands of conquerors with genius and unbounded power-lust. Only when force which had no regard for Dharma, entered the scene with the Central Asian barbarians that injunctions which were valuable, became a source of positive danger by preventing military co-operation on a large scale.

The third corporation of the Vaiśyas also comprised of men of the same class as the other two. Its cultural homogeneity with the two other corporations was complete, only its training and attainments were comparatively less intense. Prākṛta and Apabhraṃśa literature gives us a glimpse of a highly cultured upper middle class. Śrī Harṣa himself was a Vaiśya; his daughter, however, was married to Dhruvasena II, styled Bālāditya, the Kṣatriya king of Valabhī.⁷⁵ The Vaiśya ministers of Gujaraṭa were men pre-eminent for learning and valour, and they also traded. A later instance was that of Vastupāla, the great minister of Bhīma Cālukya, the Vaghela, who was a Saṃskṛta poet, a warrior and a great administrator. When taunted with being a vanik, he is reported to have said "Messenger! It is a delusion to think that Kṣatriyas alone can fight, and not a Vanik. Did not Ambada, a Vanik kill Mallikārjuna in battle? I, a Vanik, am well-known in

⁶⁸ *Satapatha Br.* V. 4.45. explains Rv. I, 25, 10 निषसाद धृतव्रत इति । धृतवतो वै राजा.

⁶⁹ Munshi, *Op. cit.* p. 40 and the authorities quoted there.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*
⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*
⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

the shop of the battle-field. I buy commodities—the heads of enemies—weighing them in the scales of swords I pay the price in the form of heaven.”⁷⁶

By about the tenth century, intermarriage between the Vaiśyas and the two higher corporations had grown rare. The Ośvālas and Porvādas of Bhīllamāla, Kṣatriyas originally, followed both war and trade as a profession till the thirteenth century.⁷⁷

The Vaiśyas represented the dynamic element in the social organisation. As between the members of their corporation, there was greater sense of equality. Foreign trade and the needs of commerce brought them in contact with Indian and non-Indian elements. They were more catholic, and often took a more charitable view of life. Hence Buddhism and Jainism, with their deep sympathy for the masses, had greater appeal for them. The sadhus of these sects, drawn from all sections of society, by their learning and piety provided a cultural force which stood away from Brahminical influence. But at the top the sadhus shared the higher cultural heritage of Dharma. For instance, Hemachandra the great Jain *ācārya*, Modha Bania from Dhandhuka, was accepted as a polymath by his generation.⁷⁸

The fourth corporation of the Sūdras was not a race of lower men, but of what may be termed ‘the rest’. They were the redeemables of Ārya Dharma. Marriage between Sūdras and members of other corporations was very common. Bāṇa, the Brāhmaṇa friend of emperor Śrī Haṛṣa, had himself a brother born of a Sūdra step-mother.⁷⁹

V

Social Movements Between 500 A.D.—1200 A.D.

The most vital movement in the social organisation of India before 1200 A.D. was the process by which little connubial groups by undergoing the necessary cultural discipline, rose from a lower corporation to a higher. In the post-Vedic period, the Saptasindhu Āryans spread only to those parts of northern India where the Āryan with a cruder form of culture had already settled or where other races had absorbed their way of life. Transition of groups from one corporation to the other, therefore, was easy. Intermarriages between members of the four corporations led, not only to a free admixture of blood between their members, but prevented an impassable divergence of cultural ideals. When a group of a lower class came to be raised to the higher, the effort to retain both the purity and the vitality of culture had only to be more intense.

The Kṣatriyas were much married and the field of their choice was unlimited. Families which followed the profession of arms, therefore, required a greater pull at every generation so as to be kept within the moral and traditional ambit. When aboriginal, foreign or even Sūdra warrior tribes came into the fold they were absorbed into the Kṣatriya corporation. They all brought their own beliefs, rituals and ways of life with them. Naturally therefore, a greater effort was required to infuse them with the form and tradition necessary for complete absorption.

With the spread of Āryan Culture to the south of the Narmadā, however, the capacity of absorption was strained. It had to deal with vast masses of people unfamiliar with the new way of life. But by the first or the second century after Christ, the whole country from Kashmir to Rameshvaram and from Kathiawar to Assam was in fact partially organised and theoretically based on *Varṇāśramadharmā*, the form which the *Cāturvarṇya* ideal had taken in this period. The Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas were working through-out the country, hand in hand, to strengthen it.

The cultural tendencies, radiating from the great centres of high-browed learning, had their popular movements which reached out to the lowly and the alien. The Vedic forms, the Bhāgavata Dharma and the cult which worshipped Śiva as Iśāna were largely prevalent among the educated classes. On the other hand, the Pāśupata cult, Buddhism and Jainism were the three great movements which, though emanating from the highest products of Ārya

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *The Life of Hemachandra* SJS No. 11. Foreword, p. 13.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Dharma were popular forces which brought millions within the fold. The Ābhiras were Vaiṣṇavas.⁶⁰ The Yüe-chis, who immigrated into India, became Śaivites.⁶¹ The Greek Heliodorous became a Bhāgavata.⁶² The Scythians took to Śaivism.⁶³ Kaṇiṣka and his followers became Buddhists.⁶⁴ In these movements also the inspiration and the strength came from men of intellectual or yogic distinction, who though not necessarily Brāhmaṇas, were equally the apostles of Dharma. The ritualistic or philosophic aspects were different; the fundamentals in all cases were the same.

The expansive career of *Cāturvarṇya* was at no time more marked than between 550 and 1100 A.D. In the seventh century *Varnāśrama* was highly elastic. Emperor Śrī Haṛṣa himself was a Vaiśya. His daughter was married to a Kṣatriya. His poet laureate, Bāṇa, had a Śūdra step-mother. Indians freely went to China. The Chinese pilgrims were received with open arms. The Magi of Persia were absorbed as the Maga Brāhmaṇas of Śrimala.⁶⁵ The whole of the south came within the ambit of *Cāturvarṇya*.

The Arabs who conquered Sind in 712 A.D. converted many Indians to Islam. But between 723 and 743 A.D. when Tammim was the governor of Sind many of the converts were reconverted and absorbed in the *Cāturvarṇya*.⁶⁶ The Muslims could retain some foothold only on the west banks of the river Indus. But they were in such small numbers that they were gradually merged into the social structure. In Mansura, the principal city, they actually adopted Hinduism.⁶⁷ The Ghoragali, an important family in Rawalpindi, has a unique history. In the seventh century they became Muslim; in the eighth they were Hindus; in the ninth they were again Muslims.⁶⁸

Indian culture attained great heights in the ninth century. In the time of Emperor Mihira Bhoja of Kanauja (836-888 A.D.), one of the great rulers in history, and of his son and grandson, the Indian social system was very dynamic. Medhātithi the commentator on *Manusmṛti* was probably a contemporary of one or more of these three emperors. He gives a picture of the times.

A Brāhmaṇa could marry the daughter of a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya. It was not necessary that an adopted boy should be of the same caste as the father; a Brāhmaṇa could adopt even a Kṣatriya boy.⁶⁹ The Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas had the right to recite *Gāyatri mantra*, though different mantras may be recited by them. Brahminhood was not by birth alone, says the author; Viśvāmitra though a Kṣatriya obtained Brahminhood in this very life.⁷⁰

According to this law-giver, a Śūdra had the right to offer oblations to the fire though he was denied certain rites at marriage. The *Smṛti* texts, which took away the rights of the Śūdra or laid down prohibitions for him, were very strictly interpreted and their scope was not allowed to be enlarged by adding inferences from other texts. The *Smṛtis* which were in favour of the Śūdras were followed.

A Śūdra was entitled to perform Pākayajña and other religious sacrifices.⁷¹ He was not allowed to pronounce judgment according to the *Smṛtis*, but he could be one of the members of the court of justice. The study of the *Vedas* was restricted to the three twice-born castes but they were prescribed for members of all the four castes. According to this great legislator, therefore, the Śūdras were practically in the position of the three twice-born castes.

The outlook of this age is clearly shown in Medhātithi's description of the nature of *Varnāśramadharmā* with reference to definition of *Āryāvarta*. The invasion of the *mleccha* countries must be taken into account. *Āryāvarta*, according to him, was so called, because the *mlecchas*, though they frequently invaded the country, were not able to abide in it.⁷² *Āryāvarta* again was not necessarily within the four corners of India. If any prince conquered foreign territory, subdued the *mlecchas*, established the Vedic religion and reduced

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Śarmā*, Conversion and Reconversion to Hinduism during the Muslim period p. 2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, 42.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 22.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, III, 67; X, 127

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Elliot*, I, 126.

⁶⁹ *Medhātithi* on *Manv.* IX, 168.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

आर्या वर्तन्ते तत्र पुनः पुनः उद्भवन्ति आक्रम्य अपि न चिरं तत्र म्लेच्छा स्थातारो भवन्ति ।

them to the position of *cāṇḍālas*, the country would be as pure as *Āryāvarta*. No sanctity attached to *Brahmāvarta* as such. It would be *mlecchadeśa*, if *mlecchas* subjugated and lived there. Impurity did not attach to the land but to the people.⁹³ Any foreign territory freshly conquered where *Varṇāśramadharmā* was enforced, was *Āryāvarta*. It was not a static arrangement of society but a dynamic creed of expansion to be enforced and spread. *Āryāvarta* was not a geographical entity but a land where *Dharma* was enforced and maintained at all cost.

The testimony of the Arab chroniclers and of the *Devala Smṛti* is also to the same effect. Devala, the author of the *Smṛti* of the name is placed between 800 and 900 A.D. when the fortunes of Islam in Sind, as stated before, were on the decline. He wrote his *Smṛti* while in Sind.⁹⁴ The movement headed by him appears to be largely responsible for the active campaign of reconversion from Islam, which necessitated the Muslims to seek an asylum in Aḥ-Marsurah, a fortress specially constructed for the purpose. This *Smṛti* is an aggressive *Dharmaśāstra* intended to purify '*mlecchanitā*,' those converted by the *mlecchas*.⁹⁵ It dealt with the problems of the Indians who had been kept as slaves and compelled to do unclean things, to kill cows or sweep the leavings of the food taken by the *mlecchas* or to eat flesh of asses, camels and pigs. It also dealt with the problems of those who were compelled to eat or drink forbidden food or drink.⁹⁶

The problem of purification according to Devala, is to be found in Sind, Kathiawar, Konkanā, Orissa and Bengal.⁹⁷ Even though converted to Islam, the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras who had been forced to do forbidden or unclean things could be reclaimed in their respective social groups by purification.

The scheme of purification also is highly elastic. A man of eighty, or a boy below sixteen or a woman or a sick person has to perform only the purificatory ceremony for half the period. A boy between five and eleven can be reclaimed by purification performed by the father, brother or the guardian.⁹⁸

With regard to the problem of women, abducted or raped by the *mlecchas*, the *Smṛti* shows a breadth of vision which is difficult to find in any *Dharmaśāstra* of a later age.

The forcible abduction of women which followed the Arab invasion of this country naturally shocked the susceptibilities of Indians who have always laid great store on women's honour. But the age was sufficiently progressive to take a sympathetic view of the plight of women forced to promiscuity against their will.

A woman carried away by the *mlecchas* could become pure and be reabsorbed in her family by her abstaining from food and sexual intercourse for three nights.⁹⁹ Three days' purification would cure the impurity imposed by eating a *mleccha's* food for one year or more. Even though a woman became pregnant by a *mleccha*, she could be purified by certain ceremonies; and once the child, which is described as thorn, was born, and she came in menses, she became as pure as 'gold.' The child, however, was to be given over to some one else in order to avoid confusion of blood.¹⁰⁰ If the parent become *mleccha* the son is not bound to acknowledge the relationship but he can give oblations to his other ancestors.¹⁰¹ *Devala Smṛti* deals with these problems with a self-confident and bold outlook when Āryan culture was a living dynamic creed.

The injunctions of this *Smṛti* were not theoretical. They were applied in practice.

Jayapāla the Brāhmaṇa Shahi king of Afghanistan and the Punjab was defeated by Sabaktgin, the father of Mahmud of Ghazni in 986-87 A.D. He then surrendered his grandson Sukhpāla to the conqueror as a hostage. Sabaktgin did not make any attempt to convert

⁹³ *Ibid.*, II, 23. यदि कश्चित् क्षत्रियादिजातीयो राजा साध्वाचरणो म्लेच्छान् पराजयेत् चातुर्वर्ण्यं वासयेत् म्लेच्छांश्च आर्यावर्त इव चाण्डालान् व्यवस्थापयेत् सोऽपि स्याद् यज्ञियः । यतो न भूमिः स्वतो दुष्टा संसर्गात् हि सा दुष्यति ।

⁹⁴ *Devala Smṛti* 1 : सिन्धुतीरे सुखासीनं देवलं मुनिसत्तमम् ।

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2. भगवन् म्लेच्छनीता हि कथं बुद्धिमवानुयुः ।

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 17, 18.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 30, 31.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 48, 50-52.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 59, 60.

Sukhpāla to Islam. The prince then became a friend and comrade of Mahmud and fell into the hands of Abul Ali when he expelled Mahmud from Nishapur. Abul Ali converted Sukhpāla to Islam. Later Abul Ali was taken prisoner by Mahmud and Sukhpāla returned to Mahmud's service.

In 1006 A.D. Sukhpāla accompanied Mahmud on his expedition to India and was appointed the governor of Multan. Within a year Sukhpāla was reconverted to Hinduism to become the spearhead of Hindu resistance. There was no question of his standing outside the *Cāturvarṇya*; he reacquired his position without any difficulty. Mahmud returned to India to face this new danger. Sukhpāla was defeated, captured, and put into prison. He, however, declined to forswear his ancestral religion.¹⁰² His reversal to the Hindu fold was a great challenge to Mahmud and it is clear that he must have regained his place in the social system as a matter of course.

"Shah Mahmud", says the *Tawarikh-i-Sorath* relating the hasty retreat of Mahmud from Kathiawar in 1025 A.D. "took to his heels in dismay and saved his life, but many of his followers of both sexes were captured ... Turks, Afghans, and Mughal female prisoners, if they happened to be virgins, were accepted as wives by the Indian soldiers ... The bowels of the others, however, were cleansed by means of emetics and purgatives and thereafter the captives were married to men of similar rank. ... Low females were joined to low men. Respectable men were compelled to shave off their beards, and were enrolled among the Shekavat and the Wadhel tribes of Rajputs; while the lower kinds were allotted to the castes of Kolis, Khantas, Babrias and Mers."¹⁰³

Even Vidyāranya, after Śaṅkarācārya the greatest of Ācāryas, refers to the general practice that a Brāhmaṇa even though he had been a slave of the *mlecchas*, could, on appropriate rituals being performed, regain his original status.¹⁰⁴

VI

Social Conditions During the Age of Resistance.

Between 1100 A.D. and 1350 A.D. the plight of India was terrible. Central Asian hordes, decade after decade, descended upon the country. Cities were plundered; shrines demolished; men, women and children were butchered or captured and sold as slaves. People threw themselves into wells to escape the ruthless invaders. Ultimately Delhi became a huge raiding camp. Benares, the home of learning and piety, was destroyed. Able and unscrupulous chieftains combined under a few military leaders to loot India. The loot was carried on with systematic skill by a chain of military posts.

A medieval poet describes the conquest of Gujarat by Alla-ud-din Khilji in 1300 A.D.: "The conquering army burnt villages, devastated the land, plundered people's wealth. It took Brāhmaṇas, children and women of all castes captive, and flogged them with throngs of raw hide. It carried a moving prison with it, and converted the prisoners into obsequious Turks."¹⁰⁵

The collapse of North India before Ghuri and Aibak was due to several causes. Irresistible energy was released by the invader. Progressive localisation of sentiments in Gūrjaradeśa had grown apace after the break-up of the First Empire of the Pratihāras. Hopeless disintegration of royal power by polygamy and the distribution of lands among members of the family had reduced kingship to a nominal headship of interrelated overlords. The Indian statesmen of the day were unaware of the conditions prevailing and forces operating outside the boundaries of India. The Indians failed to adjust their refined and humane culture to the needs of a sudden crisis in which unrelenting sternness was needed to match the savagery of the rushing enemy. And above all the educative and cultural organisation of life was

¹⁰² Girdizi, *Zaimul Akhbar*, p. 59. Firishta, pp. 25, 26.

¹⁰³ *Tārikh-i-Sorath*, Trans. by Ranchodji Amarji, Bombay, 1882, 112.

¹⁰⁴ Vidyāranya—*Pañcadaśī, tīptidīpa*, Vs. 239.

गृहीतो ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छैः प्रायश्चित्तं चरन्मुनः ।

म्लेच्छैः संकीर्यते नैव तथा भासः शरीरकैः ॥

¹⁰⁵ Munshi, *op. cit.*, p. 224 and the authority quoted there.

divorced from a national centre of political power. But what was a loss in one sense was a gain on the other. Even when the power of kings was destroyed or diminished, the people could still rescue their life and culture, and reintegrate them with fresh vitality. A culture dependent solely on political power has but a weak reed to lean on.

The Westerner's history of India takes it as an axiomatic truth that the caste system was responsible for the failure of India to resist the barbarian eruption between 1200 A.D. and 1350 A.D. This view is taken partly because Indian history is generally written from the point of view of its conquerors and the materials supplied by their admirers or mercenaries; and partly because materials on the Indian side are only being recently gathered and used. Unfortunately, Indians also have become victims of this defective outlook.

It is historically erroneous to attribute the volcanic eruption which swept over North India at the end of the twelfth century to the progress of Islam. Within a hundred years of the Prophet Mahmud, the empire of the Arabs included Spain, Portugal, part of France, northern Africa including upper and lower Egypt, the whole of the Middle East upto Indus; Transoxiana and Makran. But Theodosius III stemmed the tide in Europe in 712 A.D. In 725 A.D. Nāgabhaṭa I the founder of the First Empire of Gūrjaradeśa (modern Marwar and Ujjain region) rolled it back from North India.¹⁰⁶ Pulakeśi of Navsari barred its entry into the Deccan.¹⁰⁷ The social organisation of India based on *Cāturvarṇya* under the leadership of the Kṣatriya chiefs, could resist the most formidable military power of the day.

Nāgabhaṭa founded the first empire of Gūrjaradeśa. His descendants who ruled from imperial Kanauj were some of the greatest rulers of their age. They were upholders of Dharma. They drove out the Arabs from Sind and helped to resist the invader at the frontier. The first Empire broke in about 940 A.D. Mahipāla was the last of the *Mahārājadhīrājas* of *Āryāvarta*.¹⁰⁸

The Empire of the Khaliphs founded by the Prophet had gone to pieces in the twelfth century. Egypt with Syria and Palestine was ruled by the descendants of Saladin the great Sultan who fought the crusaders. The Seljuks ruled Asia Minor. The Abbaside Khalifs ruled from Baghdad, over a shrinking empire. From the Tigris to the Indus was the Kharisimian Empire ruled by the Turks. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni was one of the founders of this new power. He raided India; he could not conquer it. His descendants, the Yaminis, held precarious sway over parts of the Punjab. From 1030 A.D. when Mahmud died to 1190, the Kharisimian Empire could make no headway in India.

There was no unity of Islam; there was no Islamic Empire. Mahmud Ghuri who invaded India was a Turkish ruler whom lust of conquest brought to India. Enthusiastic chroniclers and poets later gave the invasion a religious colour.

The three great Indian rulers of the time in North India were Prthvirāja Cāhamāna of Ajmere, Jayachandra of Kanauj and Bhima of Gujarata. Each had sufficient strength to defeat the invader singly. Bhima defeated Ghuri in 1178 A.D.¹⁰⁹ Prthvirāja defeated him 1191 A.D.¹¹⁰ In valour the Indians did not prove inferior to the foe. They flung their life away with glorious abandon for the defence of their land and faith. There was plenty of patriotism, plenty of hatred for the *mleccha* who destroyed the Brāhmaṇa, woman and cow. In point of equipment there was little difference. Between 1190 and 1210 A.D. North India collapsed before Ghuri and his slave Kutub-din Aibak who founded the first Muslim Sultanate of Delhi. This collapse was due, not to the fact that Indians were less heroic, but that they were more cultured.

The armies of Ghuri and Aibak consisted of roaming band of army adventurers from Central Asia to middle East who for centuries had been inspired by an insatiate lust for plunder, destruction and rape. There was no religious urge behind them as erroneously stated by later fanatic Muslim chroniclers and accepted by some of our historians. It was merely a barbarian race coming down upon the rich plains and a cultured community and breaking it. On the other hand the Indian army consisted of chieftains and their retinue

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Chapt. VI. pp. 104-123.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 204.

who were rooted in soil and tradition. They were brought up in a well arranged social atmosphere and were susceptible to moral considerations.

When the Cālukya or the Cāhamāna banner flew on the Sutlej the Indians never dreamt of wiping out the weak Yāminis. Even Pṛthvirāja Cāhamāna when he defeated Ghuri never wrested the initiative from the enemy and followed him into his mountain fastness. He was content to get rid of him from his own land.

The enemy had an impelling corporate aim. Defeat for him meant destruction in a foreign land ; conquest brought in loot, women and position. The dangers of the venture sharpened his wits. Lure and gain kept up his morale.

The Turk looked upon it as a total war ; nothing was sacred to him. To the cultured Indian Kṣatriya the war was regulated by Dharma. When the general of Bhoja Paramāra marched on Aṇahilvāḍa Pātan, the capital of the enemy king of Gujarata, he touched neither shrine nor palace, nor a place of learning. He made no slaves. He respected women. Every non-combatant was to him sacred, outside the ambit of civilized warfare. But when Ulugh Khan sacked Patana, he left it a charnel-house : women and children had to jump into wells to escape a life worse than death.¹¹¹ When the foreigner had levelled a thousand temples in sacred Benares to the ground and broken the shrines in hoary Ujjayini to bits, the Vāghela king was protecting a handful of Muslims in the pursuit of their alien faith in sacred Prabhāsa, with the blessings of the religious head of the shrine of Somanātha.¹¹²

Before the Indian king with his exquisite refinement and humane outlook could learn the ways of total war, he had gone under. Culture was fighting Barbarism with unequal weapons. It naturally lost.

Cāturvarṇya has again been considered responsible for the inability of Indian rulers of the day to combine. This again requires scrutiny. In India of the twelfth century Bhīma, Pṛthvirāja and Jayachandra, in spite of internal jealousies, were all Kṣatriya rulers combined in sentiment against the hated *mlecchas*. But they fought him only by turns instead of in concert.

It is lack of historical perspective to blame the social organisation of *Cāturvarṇya* for this fissiparous tendency. This kind of narrowness existed and exists even where there was or is no *Cāturvarṇya*. It was the jealousy of the roving chieftains of Christian Western Europe which undermined the power of the great Christian Empire of Byzantium and delivered it to the Turks. In Europe itself so late as in the eighteenth century, the German Emperor and his electors as also France, Spain, Holland and Scandinavia preferred to conduct a fratricidal Thirty Years' War rather than resist the extension of the Turkish power which had supplanted the great Christian Empire of Constantinople. Before Cardinal Richelieu in France and Henry VIII in England coerced the feudal chieftains into unity, every one of them had been purchasing his existence and power by selling his neighbour to a third party, who was more often than not an ambitious foreign power. At the Diet of Ratisban Richelieu, in the name of the most Christian Majesty of France, successfully intrigued to destroy the military strength of the Catholic Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in order that his friend, the Protestant King of Scandinavia, might invade Germany. And it was the same Cardinal minister of Louis XIII who entered into a treaty with the Muslim Turks to weaken the Christian Hapsburg emperor.

On account of the inspiration of Prophet Mahmud, Arabia for a time became a home of saintly heroes. Within twenty-five years of the Prophet's death the empire included Egypt, Middle East except Asia Minor. Within a hundred years the empire extended to three continents. But it was military power which made the empire ; religion only gave it zest. The Islamic world however was torn by schisms. A fundamental gulf divided the Shias and the Sunnis. The Arabian Empire was immediately split up. The empire of Saladin, the empire of the Seljuks and the Kharisimian empire, were the eternal cauldrons in which ambitious men conspired against each other in spite of the fact that most of them were the lip-servers of the Prophet and the Qoran.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 221.

But take even the so-called modern world. The record of the twentieth century before the outbreak of World War II was no better. The intrigues of nation-states were conducted in most parts of the world irrespective of religion or race. Fifth-columnists of each country tried to betray their own country to a foreign power or sabotaged national redemption in order to help foreign domination.

Human nature has, therefore, not much changed during the last thousand years. To blame the Indian rulers of the thirteenth century for not being a thousand years in advance of their times and to blame *Cāturvarṇya* for their failure to combine, is wrong history.

The social system which the ideal of *Cāturvarṇya* had reared up, bore the shock with wonderful resilience. The great seats of learning in capital towns and great shrines were destroyed. Hundreds of thousands of Brāhmaṇas fled in search of safety, and begged their way to distant villages. The brave and heroic Kṣatriyas died in defence of the country and culture. The weaker among them submitted to the yoke of the foreigner. The weakest bought security by conversion to the conqueror's faith. The Vaiśyas in large numbers evacuated the invaded area, and often bought off the invader. Millions evacuated their homes in search of less inclement surroundings.

In this terrible plight Indian society had only two considerations before it—the search of security and the preservation of culture. In the result groups of evacuees formed separate castes. The Mōḍha Brāhmaṇa and the Mōḍha Bania castes of Gujarata, for instance, are descended respectively from the Brāhmaṇas and the Banias of the town of Mōḍherā who fled southwards when it was destroyed by Alla-ud-din Khilji. Wherever these groups of evacuees went they formed small castes; inter-marriage and interdining with other groups in the new locality were prohibited. Marriage of infant girls became a necessity to provide to every woman the protection of two families. The customs which each group carried with it became stratified, and caste consciousness became the life breath of these fleeing groups of evacuees. But wherever these groups settled they secured a place in the confederacy of hierarchic castes, the shape which defensive *Cāturvarṇya* assumed.

After the Sultanate of Delhi was founded a systematic campaign of converting Hindus to Islam was inaugurated and conversion of Muslims to other faiths became a capital crime. A person marrying a Muslim woman was given the option of embracing either Islam or death. Naturally under these conditions the dynamic power of *Cāturvarṇya* was crippled.

But it would be erroneous to imagine that Hinduism suddenly became a narrow creed or lost its dynamic urge. The meagre one-sided records of the time supply some testimony. When Malik Kafoor invaded Madura in 1311 A.D. there was a large community of Muslim traders who had been practically absorbed in the Hindu community.¹¹³ In the time of Mubarak, the successor of Alla-ud-din Khilji a young *mahāra* from Gujarata, a convert to Islam, became a great power in the Sultanate under the exalted title of Khusru Khan Hasan. He then succeeded in murdering his master. Khusru then reverted to his ancestral faith. He set up Hindu worship in the palace. His uncle reassumed his Hindu name. Thousands of Hindu converts to Islam were reconverted and enlisted in his troops.¹¹⁴

Under Ferozeshah Tughlak sometime after 1375 A.D., a learned Brahman saint of Delhi attracted a large number of Muslim followers whom he converted to Hinduism and admitted in his temple.¹¹⁵ About 1399 A.D. Devrāi of Vijayanagram entered into a treaty with Ferozeshah Bahmani whereby he paid 1,00,000 Huns to redeem 2,000 Brāhmaṇa girls who had been made captive by the armies of the Bahmani king.¹¹⁶ This was done at the instance of the Brāhmaṇas themselves who admitted the girls back into their fold.

Cāturvarṇya justified its existence. The Brāhmaṇa, wherever he went, maintained his tradition and on the pittance which the public provided pursued a life devoted to religion, learning, culture and self-discipline. The Kṣatriya wrote epics of heroism with his blood in every town he defended, and helped the Brāhmaṇa to uphold the Dharma. The Vaiśya

¹¹³ Amir Khusru, *Tarikh-i-Alai*, Elliot. III. 90.

¹¹⁴ Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 404, 412.

Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 5, 6.

¹¹⁵ Afif., *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 388.

¹¹⁶ *Firishta*, p. 311.

traded, gave in charity and maintained cultural institutions which had been deprived of royal power. The interdependence of these castes was complete.

The four castes became rigid and came to be subdivided by a natural defensive process. Birth came to be more and more emphasized, and provided a strong barrier against the proselytising zeal of the invader. *Svakarma* and *Svadharmā* were interpreted as meaning the duties and loyalties arising from the caste, not from individual nature. Domestic life, feminine virtue and social security were prized above individual growth. Individual progress was not possible in that age of resistance and social groups could rise in the scale of the hierarchy only by slow, laborious efforts.

The collective will which operated to create powerful group sentiments round *Cāturvārṇya* kept the society together. It protected it against catastrophic change. It absorbed new groups and strongly influenced social habits and customs. In rendered Indian culture immune from barbarian attacks. Under the most difficult circumstances, in the days of the Central Asian inroads, *Cāturvārṇya* thus stood its ground and saved both the life and soul of India.

VII

Re-integration of the Social System under the Moghuls.

At the death of Muhammad Tughlak in 1351 A.D. the Sultanate of Delhi was not more than a petty kingdom. The rest of the country was parcelled out into Hindu kingdoms or kingdoms governed by Muslim rulers who had adjusted themselves to their Hindu subjects and who were equally interested in destroying the power of Delhi. From the death of Muhammad Tughlak to 1560 A.D. when Akbar threw off the tutelage of Byram Khan and started on a career of imperial conquest and consolidation, the country was in a state of internal disintegration. But the pressure of the Central Asian hordes had diminished. Aryan Culture, thereupon, entered a new period of re-integration.

Between 1560 A.D., and the accession of Aurangzeb in 1658 A.D. was a century which saw the rule of the three somewhat liberal Moghul Emperors. They were not fanatic Mussalmans. Akbar was married to Jodhbai the Rajput daughter of Amber; Jehangir was their son. Shajehan had been a great friend of the Mahārāja of Udaipur. Ordinarily they did not persecute the Hindus. They permitted the Muslim governors to destroy Hindu temples and sometimes intervened when they felt that the Muslim sentiment had reached a point when it became a political danger.

Under the tolerance which the Moghul Emperor adopted towards their Hindu subjects, culture launched on an expansive career. Under the facade of Moghul dress and architecture and official Persian language, life had both a defensive and an offensive aspect. The defensive aspect is typified by Mānsiṅha of Amber who gave his sister to Akbar, a foreign conqueror with an alien religion, in order to buy security. But on his palace wall at Amber stood—and still stands—Gaṇapati. Within the walls of his fortress, Kālī was worshipped with ardent devotion. His kith and kin followed the ancient ways and glorified in laying down their life in defence of 'the cow and the Brāhmaṇa.' The mighty, Moghul empire lashed against these defence works in vain.

At the same time the dynamic urge of the *Gītā* was not dead. It was awaiting only a less unhappy situation to assert itself. Its message was received by mystics and saints and transmitted to the people. They, in their turn, created out of it a new great movement which re-integrated Indian culture and society. The *Bhāgavata* was the gospel of the new age, a living breathing commentary of the *Gītā*. The Alvars lived up to it. They recognised no caste, no rank, no sex. One of them was a king, another a beggar, a third a woman, a fourth a mystic of the depressed class. They sang and lived the message of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. By devotion of and surrender they tried to attain Him Who is Perfection.

Their influence was felt by the *Ācāryas*, Rāmānuja being the greatest of them. I am not here concerned with the doctrines of the schools, but Rāmānuja represented the spirit of re-integration. He brought the spirit of the *Gītā* back to the philosophic systems and set it flowing again in the hardening grooves of life, bringing fresh vitality.

New schools of thought came into being by direct inspiration or indirect reaction. Their names were a legion. The principal ones were the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* of Rāmānuja, the *Saiva Siddhānta* of Meykander, the *Dvaita* system of Madhva, and the *Advaitism* of Śaṅkara which Mādhava Vidyāṇya (c. 1377 A.D.) and Vedānta Deśika, two brothers, brought into popularity. Rāmānanda, the great pupil of Rāmānuja, was the Martin Luther of India. He came to the north. Among his twelve disciples were included an outcaste and the Muslim weaver, Kabir. He made Śrī Rāma the central deity of his puritanical cult. He gave up Saṁskṛta for the language of the day and rejected caste. Little is known of his dynamic personality. But his inspiration led to the growth of the great progressive movements which are associated with Kabir (c. 1440—c. 1518 A.D.), Nanaka, (1469-1538 A.D.) the Sikh Gurus and the *Grantha Sāheb*, *Tulsidāsa* whose *Rāmcarita Mānasa* popularly known as '*Tulsi Rāmāyaṇa*' brought, and still brings, the message of *Gītā* in the most attractive form to millions.

In Mahārāṣṭra the new movement of *bhakti*, inspired directly by the influence of Rāmānuja was represented by Jñāneśvara (c. 1290 A.D.), Nāmadeva (c. 1400 A.D.) and Eknatha (c. 1575 A.D.) and Tukārāma (1608—40 A.D.). In many other parts of the country it was represented by Nimbārka and Viṣṇu Swāmi who is said to be the teacher both of Jñāneśvara and Vallabha, and lastly by Caitanya (1485-1533 A.D.) and by Vallabha himself (1479-1531 A.D.). Caitanya's cult was restricted to Bengal but his personality left a powerful impression upon the whole movement. With unessential variations they all taught the approach of man to God by a complete surrender; the rise of the individual above the duties and loyalties of the caste; and the uplifting of the spirit above attachment, wrath and fear. It was a dynamic movement. All castes contributed their free spirits to it. It tried to cut across the caste system and even across religions in the name of Him who gave the message of the *Gītā*. Caitanya's two greatest pupils Rupa Goswāmi and Sanātana Goswāmi, who founded the *bhakti movement* associated with Mathura, were converts from Islam.

This movement reacted on all sections of the people and all spheres of life. Most of the leaders of the *Bhakti Movement* worked through the spoken languages of the day, which soon became rich and plastic vehicles for literary expression. Brāhmaṇas brought the wealth and beauty of Saṁskṛta into these spoken languages. Jayadeva sang the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Saṁskṛta. Caṇḍidāsa did it in Bengali. Vidyāpati laid the foundation of a new literary movement in Bihar. Mirābai in Rajputana, Narsinha Mehta and Bhālaṇa in Gujarat, created a new literary tradition. The eight Hindi poets, known as *Aṣṭa Chhapa* led by Suradāsa contributed songs which soon became the hymns of the new cult. Tulsidāsa (1532-1623 A.D.) of course was the greatest of them all.

In this great upheaval *Gītā* had a wonderful role to play. It inspired the mystic to translate its teachings to the thought and the literary man to create a new impulse. The romantic flavour of the new literary creations was borrowed from the *Bhāgavata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*; but the golden thread which glistened through them was the dynamic spirit of the *Gītā*.

These movements increased cultural vitality. The usual notion that Hindu Society was inelastic and did not, or could not absorb alien factors is unfounded. Caitanya converted a large number of Muslims to his faith. As stated before his two principal Goswāmis were converts from Islam. A little before Akbar's time, Puran Mal, the governor of the fort of Rai Sen, converted many Muslim women to the Hindu fold.¹¹⁷ Nasir Khan of Kalpi became a convert to Hinduism and was supported by Hindus to an extent which made him a danger to the Sultan of Malwa.¹¹⁸

In the days of Jehangir, one Kaukab, son of Qumar Khan, and his cousins took to yogic practices. The Emperor put them in prison and one of them was whipped in Jehangir's presence as his example was likely to be infectious.¹¹⁹

One Dalpat Rai of Sirhand, had converted one man and six women. When he declined to embrace Islam he was executed by Shahjehan.¹²⁰ In Aurangazeb's reign Brāhmaṇa

¹¹⁷ Śarma, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

teachers in Benares used their temples as schools both for Hindus and Muslim boys.¹²¹ Several other cases of Muslims being converted to Hinduism and accepted by the community are found in contemporary chronicles.

Goswāmi Chatrapah, a Nāgar Brāhmaṇa from Gujarata, a man of renown and sanctity exercised great influence over Muslims. Among his admirers were persons no less than Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and Emperor Jehangir himself.¹²²

Hindus married Muslim women after converting them, in spite of the disfavour of the Muslim, rulers. In the Punjab Shahjehan is recorded to have once compelled 5000 Hindus to embrace Islam as they had married Muslim wives after admitting them into their fold.¹²³ In Gujarata also the practice of taking Muslim wives after purifying them was common.

In 1643 A.D. Kalyān Bhārati, a *sanyāsī* who had lived in Persia, was a highly respected yogi. He was once a convert to Islam, but had reverted to his ancestral faith.¹²⁴ Kabir was brought up by Muslims and ultimately became a principal leader of the movement sponsored by Rāmānanda.¹²⁵ He was also claimed as a Muslim by the Muslim community.¹²⁶

Muslim noblemen are stated to have become *vairāgis*. The *Sanyāsīs* also brought up Muslim boys in Hindu faith. The Vaiṣṇava Sect admitted them freely. Guru Hargobind, before 1645 A.D., converted Muslims in such large numbers that not a single person was left in the Muslim community between the hills near Kiratpur and the frontiers of Tibet and Khotan.¹²⁷

The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa contains the tradition of a large movement of absorption. Under Raja Ganga Singh, the *mlecchas* were converted to the Āryan religion.¹²⁸ Reference is found to wide missionary movements by the followers of Rāmānanda, Caitanya, Nimbārka, Viṣṇuswāmi, Mādhva, Dhanvantari and Kabir.

During the Maratha period *pariśads* of learned men, sanctioned from the time of the *Upaniśads* were great liberalising factors in society. They could relax rigid rules or suggest propitiatory rites to condone lapses from the religion and caste. In the days of Śivāji, special minister was charged with the duties of a '*pariśad*.' Under his authority many converts to Islam were reconverted.¹²⁹

Mirati Ahmadi refers to an incident in the eighteenth century in Gujarata. Aurangzeb had converted Marwaris from Jodhpur into Islam. Some time thereafter there was a famine in Gujarata. The Marwaris of Ahmedabad opened charitable feeding houses for the starving. Many Muslim women and children took advantage of this charity and were also converted to Hinduism. After they were converted they were sent to Marwar where they were absorbed in the Hindu society.¹³⁰

Suddhi was not invented by Dayānanda Saraswatī in the last century. A perpetual interchange of new recruits was the common feature both of Hinduism and Islam since advent of the Turks.

Before the British period, therefore, the social system was expansive and energetic. There was the caste system, no doubt. It was defensively very tough and energetic. It had sharpened social boycott as a weapon of offence, an effective and peaceful instrument.

But it was resilient too. Its absorbing power was effective though less active than before the Age of Resistance. Śivāji and the Sikh Gurus were not political freaks. They were thrown up by a vast ferment of social and cultural forces which were eddying round the dynamic conception of *Cāturvarṇya* as enunciated by Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

VIII

Social Re-integration in Modern Times.

After the Battle of Kirkee in 1818 A.D. the hegemony of India passed into the hands

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹²⁹ Kāṇe, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. II, pp. 973, 974.

¹³⁰ *Mirate Ahmadi*, Trans. by D. B. Kṛṣṇalal Zaveri, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, pp. 178, 179.

of the British, a foreign power. Its statesmen, thereupon, decided to disarm the people and organise the internal administration so as to suit its imperial needs. As soon as the country settled down to comparative peace the necessity of maintaining a defensive social bulwark began to disappear. Political slavery also brought about a new consciousness to eliminate weakness and regain self-respect and strength. The compact with the new conditions and Western culture brought into play a new spirit of adjustment. As a result, the spirit of Āryan Culture began to express itself in new movements of reintegration.

So far as the social system was concerned the evolution followed several lines.

First, the Masters went back to the message of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and began to re-interpret it in the light of modern conditions and the social system began to be reorganised in the light of such new interpretation.

Secondly, the rigidity of the caste system came to be relaxed. There were no direct onslaughts to destroy it and, in consequence, defensive vigour began to be blunted. The movement natural to the Indian society by which groups rose in the social hierarchy when they acquired a superior form of culture was accelerated. New social units in which the caste distinctions were either not recognised or not strictly enforced came into existence, and new institutions and careers weakened the sense of caste-isolation. And the mental outlook came to be generally liberalised.

Thirdly, the spirit of the culture accepted the challenge given to it by hostile activities, both foreign and indigenous, to disrupt the social structure and destroy the soul of the country.

The first sign of the new life was the activity inaugurated by Swāmi Sahajānanda or Swāmi Nārāyaṇa in Western India about the end of the eighteenth century. He was the first to reflect the rays of the rising vitality. He was a sanyasi trained in the old system. He began life under the inspiration of Rāmānuja's teachings. He was the last representative of the renaissance which Rāmānuja had inaugurated, and the first leader of the new age which contact with the West gave birth to. The Britishers of the times who came into contact with him respected him as a new leader with a moral and progressive outlook. The orthodox frowned upon him as the founder of "*Angreji Dharma*."

Under the inspiration of the *Gītā* Swāmi Nārāyaṇa led a protestant movement in Western India against the prevailing, devotional cults. In the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa they had degenerated into gay performances. The great apostle of Dharma restored the emphasis on self-discipline. He began a vigorous campaign of mass uplift. He made a flank attack on the caste by discarding caste distinctions for attaining the higher spiritual places. Among his followers, the position of a sadhu was open to members of all castes. These activities evoked strong opposition. But he followed the old lines and his influence was restricted mainly to Gujarat.

The great product of the new age was however Rāma Mohan Roy (1774-1833 A.D.). He was the first patriarch of modern India. A student of Samskr̥ta, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English, he was the father of the first modern prose in any Indian language. He was influenced by Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, particularly the *Upaniṣads*, the *Brahmasūtra* and the *Gītā*. He was also the child of the Encyclopaedic thought of the eighteenth century and believed in the supremacy of Reason. He was modern in the sense that he avoided the emotional aspects of mysticism. He organised a movement of intellectual resistance to the existing religious and social system which he called 'perversion of Brahmanism'. The Brahmo Samāja which he founded was an attempt to reintegrate Hinduism with the aid of the dynamic inspiration of *Vedānta* and European Rationalism. He was also the first to attempt the transmutation of the traditional reverence of *Aryāvarta*, the sacred land, into modern patriotism. Rāma Mohan Roy wanted caste distinctions to go because according to him they deprived Indians of patriotism.

Rāma Mohan Roy founded the school of Indian Social Reform under the influence of contemporary English thought. He was in love with the new British regime. He considered it the dispensation of a beneficent Providence. He wanted English to be the universal language. He also wanted India to be socially Western and thereby achieve independence,

It was a line of thought with which educated Indians were saturated till they recaptured the soul of Indian Culture afresh.

Rāma Mohan Roy was the first and the greatest of the West-made Indian liberals. His movement was taken up by Devendra Nāth Tagore (1817-1905 A.D.). But under his influence the Brahmo Samāja began to drift. Ultimately it was captured by Keshab Chandra Sen who was largely influenced by Christianity till, later, he fell under the spell of Śrī Rāmkrṣṇa. The Brahmos slowly turned towards Christianity and the worship of Reason. They evolved a creed devoid of faith. They banded themselves into groups of reformers and ended by becoming a small social unit of Westernised men who tried to find a new life in Western ways and thought and ended by losing touch with the main social and cultural currents of Indian life. But their early efforts had great repercussions. In fighting and isolating them, the general Indian mind acquired a vigorous and creative attitude towards their social and spiritual problems.

But Rāma Mohan Roy's legitimate successor was Mahādeva Govinda Rānade. To him as to Rāma Mohan Roy, the Brahmo movement was not a new one. "We are representatives of an old race, as old as the *Bhagvadgītā*, and the *Bhāgavata Purāna*; much older still; as old as Nārada, Prahlāda, and Vasudeva and the nine sages who visited Janaka."

He traced the continuity of the apostles of Āryan culture from those days to Rāma Mohan Roy 'who was thus one of the fathers of the Brahmo Church', 'neither the first nor the last.' Rānade deprecated separatist movement of social reform. He had too keen a historical perception to miss the role of ordered evolution in the development of Indian society. 'No nation has any destined place in history which changes its creed and morals, its customs and its social polity with the facility of fashions.'

For inspiration, he turned from more immediate past to the most remote past of our glory; from the rigidity of the mediaeval times to the vigorous and expansive life of the past. It was the typical urge of creative men born in a culture which had defied centuries; He characterised the later day narrowness as 'the work of human hands, concessions made to weaknesses, abuses substituted for the old healthier regulations.' The movement which he led widened the outlook of the educated Hindus without impelling them to cut themselves adrift.

The liberalising influence of the Social Reform movement which Rānade led was apparently restricted to a small section of Hindus. And most of its members either cut themselves off from the main currents of the Hindu Society or sank into just lovers of Western life content to spend a self-indulgent existence devoid of faith and spiritual energy in the light of a second hand rationalism which they claimed to borrow from Bentham and Mill. But Rānade's imperceptible influence was immense. It provided a liberalising urge for all educated minds, and relaxed the bonds of rigidity in which the social conscience lay inert.

But the greatest challenge to political slavery and social stagnation was delivered by Swāmī Dayānanda Saraswatī. He dedicated himself to re-integrating life by capturing the mighty spirit of the early Āryans. He endeavoured to breathe into the national character the fresh vigour of their outlook. He also went back for inspiration to the remote past—to India's Rock of Ages, the *Vedas*.

Isolation, caste-distinctions, subordination of women were according to Dayānanda, un-Āryan. Indian culture was not stagnant but expansive. Anyone, properly qualified, can come within its fold. Women were the equals of men in all rituals, rights and obligations. He stressed the need of systematic purification of those who had been converted to other faiths. He preached national education, the uplift of the masses by direct contact with them. He insisted on national self-respect by restoring self-confidence in social, religious and cultural heritage of the past.

Dayānanda's scheme of re-integration was all-sided. By the violent shock he gave to orthodoxy, he forced the old scholars and their inert followers to search their hearts.

He founded the Ārya Samāja as the Church Militant of Hinduism. By direct and indirect influence it has vitalised the Hindu social structure in North India. Its programme of conversion and consolidation has been tacitly adopted by the advanced section of the Hindus. The re-conversion of 30,000 Malkana Rajputs from Islam to their ancestral

faith in 1923 A.D. has been a brilliant illustration of the dynamics of modern Āryan culture. The vast educational activities of Ārya Samāja can only be compared with the educational activities of the Society of Jesus, combining modern knowledge with ancient faith. Dayānanda's methods, developed to suit the times have been adopted by successive Masters upto Mahātmā Gāndhi. The Hindu Mahāsabhā owes not a little to the ultimate inspiration of Swāmi Dayānanda. It is a curious tribute to his greatness that in defence of his polemical work '*Satyārtha Prakāśa*,' which incidentally chastised all religious belief including orthodox Hinduism, the whole Hinduism stands united today.

But the ageless vitality of Āryan Culture expressed itself in no nobler form than in Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa *Paramahansa* (1833-1886 A.D.). In this materialistic age, he demonstrated the validity of the experiences which the *Gītā* had taught. He was almost illiterate, but his training was all drawn from this gospel. Every word and act of his expressed the teachings of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in a living manner. By devotion, knowledge and yoga he surrendered himself to God. He saw God as Reality. It was, as for all mystics, the only religion. He realized Him in all His aspects.

His conversations, collected by a faithful disciple under the heading '*The Gospel of Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa*' is a modern scripture, a work which by comparison makes Socrates' *Dialogues*, St. Augustine's *Confessions* and Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* look pale and meagre. Like a Vedic god, he destroyed *Vṛtra*, the demon of arrogant rationalism. And the immortal truth of the *Gītā*, no longer imprisoned, fell in refreshing showers.

His approach to the caste system was the true approach of the *Gītā*. The only way to destroy social distinctions is the rise to Perfection by individual efforts. "The caste-system can be removed by one means only, and that is the love of God. Lovers of God do not belong to any caste. The mind, body, and soul of a man become purified through divine love. Caitanya and Nityānanda scattered the name of Hari to every one, including the pariah, and embraced them all. A Brāhmaṇa without this love is no longer a Brāhmaṇa. And a pariah with the love of God is no longer a pariah. Through *bhakti* an untouchable becomes pure and elevated."

Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa gave experiential vitality to the *Gītā*. The flood-gates of a new inspiration were opened. His favourite disciple, Swāmi Vivekānanda, a brilliant product of the *Gītā*, trod the path of yoga. His was not the way of the iconoclast but the architect. He was not an apologist of the existing evils. At the same time he had no illusions about the Western culture. He saw the Āryan Culture in its living greatness, as a spiritual force destined to revolutionise the world. He brought back self-respect to Indians. He also demanded and secured the world's respect for their culture. Due to him educated India felt a glow of fresh pride in their ever living culture which they had been taught to condemn by Christian missionaries and the social reformers of the rationalist school.

Vivekānanda was sanity itself. He declined to found a sect, and thereby aggregate the influence of his Master's teaching. He preferred to emphasize his experiences rather than dwell on his being an *avatāra*—a belief he shared with some of his co-disciples. In this way he became the voice of Āryan Culture itself.

He particularised the universality of the *Gītā* which his master had taught. Its message was given in India, was the soil of India, and therefore, India can reintegrate itself only with its aid. She must be reborn before it can influence the world. Under this dispensation spiritual rebirth was related to the uplift and freedom of the country. Nationalism became an integral part of Dharma. Dharma was trans-valued in terms of the secular needs of the hour.

Vivekānanda condemned the caste as an impediment to higher fulfilment. He thundered against the 'priest-ridden, superstitious, hypocritical educated classes' whose 'God was the kitchen' and whose religion was 'don't touchism.'

A curious result of these attacks on the caste was that the sense of unity which underlay *Cāturvarṇya* became weak. In old days each caste was a social unit with characteristic duties, but it was dependent upon others as a part of the whole. Now each caste became an independent unit. The Brāhmaṇa lost the consciousness of his responsibility as the guide of other castes. The Kṣatriya lost his respect for the Brāhmaṇa. The Vaiśya, proud of his

wealth which in time of peace became a great instrument of social influence, developed a contempt for all. The Śūdra suddenly became conscious of his inferiority and learnt the lesson of class bitterness, *Cāturvarṇya* was misunderstood and misdescribed by a foolish generation which never cared to study it or to assess its value as a unique social experiment. It naturally began to disintegrate.

But its underlying unity was not being lost ; it was being transmuted into Nationalism. The caste-sentiment was sought to be subordinated to the worship of India as the Mother. It was an easy transition from Śrī Rāmākṛṣṇa's love for the Mother to the patriot's love for Mother India.

Bankim, whom Śrī Aravinda rightly calls a Ṛṣi, with the fiery imagination of a poet gave a fresh integrating sentiment. India was the Mother and her service to the point of self-immolation was the demand of the new Dharma. The Mother was not a British dominated land ; it was the divine Durgā with mighty weapons in multi-million hands—an embodiment of fearless strength and force. In his two great novels *Anand Matha* and *Devī caudharāṇī*, he held up a picture of a new class of Brāhmaṇas dominating society, a class of men pledged to non-possession and who had surrendered themselves to God as seen in the Mother. He sketched a scheme of elaborate training in *Anand Matha* for such Brāhmaṇas who were to be the apostles of the new Dharma. The new sentiment received its beautifully lyrical expression in the *Vande-Mātaram* song, which is now the National Anthem.

Cāturvarṇya had two important characteristics—the underlying sense of organic unity, and the social leadership of the Pure. It was also the great feature of India's life, which according to tradition, made India the Holy Land of the Āryas. These sentiments were fused into modern Nationalism, which curiously sprung up, full-panoplied in the imagination of a novelist.

Few indeed at present know what *Ananda Matha*, and *Devī Chaudharāṇī* and the *Life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa* meant to the youth of the country fifty years ago. The new vision which has thus been our great integrating force for the last fifty years has been expressed by Śrī Aravinda in his inimitable style.

‘It is not till the Motherland reveals herself to the eye of the mind as something more than a stretch of earth or a mass of individuals, it is not till she takes shape as a great Divine and maternal Power in a form of beauty that can dominate the mind and seize the heart that these petty forces and hopes vanish in the all-absorbing passion for the Mother and her service, and the patriotism that works miracles and saves a doomed nation is born.’

Nationalism thus conceived was not the politico-economic force borrowed from Europe ; it was the message of the *Gītā* reintegrated. Young India was to attain perfection by sacrifice, service and deed in spirit of complete surrender to the Mother ; and irrespective of birth each one was to rise in the Four-fold order by the intensity of this surrender. It was India's challenge to the West.

Curiously the spirit of the *Gītā* entered the soul of the foreign born Annie Besant. She made Śrī Kṛṣṇa's message her guide, India her home, and its cultural and political reintegration the mission of her life. She proved the truth of the teachings in herself. By her individual nature, and the tasks enjoined by her nature she secured the position of a *Karmayogi*. By constant endeavour she taught India to recapture the spirit of Aryan Culture.

“Without Hinduism, India has no future. Hinduism is the soil in which India's roots are struck and torn out of that she will inevitably wither, as a tree torn out from its place. Her history, her literature, her art, her movements, all have Hinduism written across them. India lived before other religions coming ; India could live after their passing. But let Hinduism go, Hinduism that was India's cradle, and in that passing would be India's grave.”

But she was too clear-sighted not to see that the caste system as it existed in her time was but a phase of *Cāturvarṇya* which had become an anachronism. She was a student of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and believed that nature, not birth, opens the path of discipleship and leads to the attainment of the Perfection that is Him. Her influence on the Indian

mind was considerable. She was to a great extent instrumental in lifting the sense of inferiority which the British conquest of India had fastened upon us.

She studied the phenomenon of *Cāturvarṇya* and with unerring perspicuity saw the part it had played.

"It is not wise to cut down a great tree which shelters a whole village and has sheltered it for many generations, because a few poisonous creepers have twined themselves round its branches. Better exercise a little patience and leave the tree unharmed. It is not well to destroy the stately edifice, built by the Rṣis, which has weathered many a storm and given safe shelter to a myriad generations. Chaldea, Persia, Egypt, Greece and Rome have perished, mighty as once they were, far-reaching in Empire, splendid in achievement; India, which was their contemporary, has outlived them all, and is now lifting her proud head once more to greet the rising sun of a new dawn. And this marvellous endurance, while primarily due to her profound spirituality, is partly due also to the stability given her by her caste system, a social stability of form answering to the inner stability of spirit."

In the direct line of Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa stands the seer Śrī Aravinda. Like Rāmakṛṣṇa he testifies to the validity of *Gītā's* teachings. He communed with God. He received the message when in Alipur Jail.

"When you go forth, speak to your nation always this word, that it is for the *Sanātana Dharma* that they arise, it is for the world and not for themselves that they arise. I am giving them freedom for the service of the world. It is for the *Dharma* that India exists."

His life and works and vision have all been drawn from a living contact with the *Gītā*. He discarded Western influence. "It was imitative, artificial, denationalising", he wrote. "Under it we were always stumbling in the wake of European evolution and always, fifty years behind it". Knowing the West more than any Indian of the last hundred years, he has no illusion of its saving qualities. "We do not believe that by changing the machinery so as to make our society the ape of Europe we shall effect social renovation. Widow-remarriage, substitution of class for caste, adult marriage, intermarriage, interdining and other nostrums of the social reformer are mechanical changes which, whatever their merits or demerits cannot by themselves save the soul of the nation alive or stay the course of degradation and decline."

He gave the new thought forms—*Svarāja*, *Swadeśi* and Nationalism—in which the ageless Āryan Culture was expressing itself to meet the exigencies of modern life. It is its spirit, not the form, that matters. "It (Nationalism) must be on its guard against any tendency to cling to every detail that has been India. That has not been the spirit of Hinduism in the past, there is no reason why it should be so in the future. In all life there are three elements, the fixed and permanent spirit, the developing yet constant soul and the brittle changeable body. The spirit we cannot change, we can only obscure or lose; the soul must not be rashly meddled with, must neither be tortured into a shape alien to it, nor obstructed in its free expansion; and the body must be used as a means, not over-cherished as a thing valuable for its own sake. We will sacrifice no ancient form to an unreasoning love of change, we will keep none which the national spirit desires to replace by one that is a still better and truer expression of the undying soul of the nation."

He interprets *Cāturvarṇya* in the true spirit of the *Gītā*. The individual seeks his own development. He strives to find himself. He tries to discover the law and power of his own being within himself. He is a living power of eternal Truth and seeks to fulfil it. Similarly a society, a community, a nation seeks its own fulfilment to live its own life, and realize its potentiality. That is so because it is also a being, a living power of eternal Truth and is intended to express and fulfil the law and power of its own being.

But it is the individual who first manifests the urge of the society towards self-fulfilment. The spirit discovers, develops, builds into form in the individual man. Through him alone the communal mind exercises the creative impulse. Individuals, therefore, who search the spirit and seek to fulfil it can alone, like the ancient Rishis, guide human life towards the realization of its ideals.

Individual freedom must be secured that each one of us may reach the full measure of

his greatness. At the same time without social security, individual freedom will end in fragmentation of life and its resulting destruction. The individual must, therefore, help to constitute the aggregate; the aggregate must nourish the individual; both must in mutual responsiveness, attain progress. The perfect society must entirely favour the perfection of the individual. Only a free individual can develop a spiritual oneness with the rest. This compelling oneness of life does not depend upon mechanical means of unification but is sustained by an inner freedom and a freely varied outward expression.

Individuals, therefore, who recognise a spiritual evolution of the individuals and society as the destiny of man must as a class be accepted as the leaders of the Society.

Thus *Cāturvarṇya* according to Śrī Aravinda recognises these principles, viz.—

1. That individual perfection is the goal of life;
2. that the highest form of society is the one which makes it easy to attain such individual perfection;
3. that such a society must acknowledge and accept the class of individuals who believe in such spiritual evolution and who spend their life in search of such perfection, as the highest, social hierarchy.

To this seer of limitless vision has the secret of the vitality and strength of the Indian Culture been unfolded.

“What was the secret of that gigantic-superhuman moral force which we see pulsating in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, in the ancient philosophy, in the supreme poetry, art, sculpture and architecture of India? What was at the basis of the incomparable public works and engineering achievement, the opulent and exquisite industries, the great triumph of science, scholarship, jurisprudence, logic, metaphysics, the unique social structure? What supported the heroism and self-abandonment of the Kṣatriya, the Sikh and the Rajput, the unconquerable national vitality and endurance. What was it that stood behind that civilization second to none in the massiveness of its outlines or the perfection of its details? Without a great and unique discipline involving a perfect education of soul and mind, a result so immense and persistent would have been impossible.”

This reservoir of vital energy, Śrī Aravinda finds in *Brahmacharya* which raised the physical to the spiritual, perfected the instruments of the Satvic or Pure elements in human nature. It must not be forgotten that it was *Cāturvarṇya* which kept this spirit alive through the centuries.

In the same class is Bāl Gangādhara Tilak. He started no sect. He did not give up worldly life. Yet his life was the life of a *Karma Yogi*. He taught it by words and practice. He did not fight the caste system. On the other hand he insisted that it should not be fought. But his view was that the caste system was the result of political slavery and that if political slavery went the caste system would adjust itself according to the original purpose of *Cāturvarṇya*. In effect the dynamic urge which he gave to the social and political activities shattered the narrow walls of social alignments. The society as a whole acquired a bold and aggressive outlook. The Gaṇapati festival, for instance, in which all Hindus irrespective of caste join in mass gatherings in the parts of the country where they have been adopted, achieved more for the Hindu society than the teaching of many reformers. And his emphasis on *Karma Yoga* in his great book on the *Gītā* gave to the new generation a new dynamic interpretation of the eternal message.

If Śrī Aravinda is the seer of Āryan Culture, Mahātmā Gandhi is its most effective modern product.

Gāndhiji has denounced the caste system as it exists and the fragmentation of life which it has brought about. Its failure to subserve the real aim of *Cāturvarṇya* has evoked his condemnation. He does not consider caste as necessarily harmful. According to him in its origin it was a wholesome institution and promoted national well-being. It has saved Hinduism from disintegration. The Four-fold Order of Society is scientific, fundamental, natural and essential.

“What is this *Varṇāśrama*? It is not a system of water-tight compartments. It is, recognition, to me, of a scientific fact whether we know it or not. A Brāhmaṇa is not only a teacher, He is only predominantly that. But a Brāhmaṇa who refuses to labour will

be voted down as an idiot. The Rishis of old who lived in the forests cut and fetched wood, tended cattle and even fought. But their pursuit in life was pre-eminently search after Truth. Similarly a Rajput without learning was good for nothing no matter how well he wielded the sword. And a Vaishya without divine knowledge sufficient for his own growth will be a veritable monster eating into the vitals of society as many modern Vaishyas whether of the East or the West have become."

"The Law of heredity is an eternal law and any attempt to alter the law must lead, as it has before led, to utter confusion."

The aim of *Cāturvarṇya* according to him, is to take man nearer to God by making it easy to perfect himself—the *Gītā* touch again. Hence duty is not to be ignored. In a society based on the principle of heredity, energy would not be lost in making a choice of the profession, in acquiring skill in new professions, or in cut throat competition and unemployment. Men would be able to pursue the urge to perfection much more easily. Co-operation and love would replace competition and jealousy. But this presupposes that all professions must be deemed equal and all men irrespective of their profession must be equally treated and respected. The scavenger, the teacher and the lawyer are equal; they must be equally educated and well fed. Their respective occupations must be held in equal respect.

Occupation is not the test of superiority and gives no right to look down upon others.

"Excommunication from a tyrannical society is indeed a reward of merit and should be welcomed. To say that a Brāhmaṇa should not touch the plough is a parody of *Varnāśrama* and a prostitution of the meaning of the *Bhagvadgītā*. Surely the qualities predominantly ascribed to the different divisions are not denied to the others. Is bravery to be the prerogative only of the Kṣatriya and restraint only of the Brāhmaṇa? Are Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Sūdras not to protect the Cow? Can anyone remain a Hindu without readiness to die for the Cow? Yet strangely enough, I have a letter from the Madras Presidency seriously telling me, that Cow protection has nothing to do with any but the Vaiśyas. When there is so much ignorance combined with insolence, the best thing to do is to incur all risks and pursue the path of reform expecting time to prove the truth of one's position."

Again he adds :—

"There is no fundamental difference between a Brahmin and a Pariah, but he who runs may see that considered as a class there is a marked and noticeable difference between Brahmins and Pariahs or for that matter all the four castes. What I would like my correspondent to join me in is a fight against an arrogant assumption of superiority whether it is assumed by Brahmins or others. It is the abuse of Varnashram that should be combated, not the thing itself."

Untouchability is no part of *Varnāśramadharmā*. It is an excrescence, an unmitigated evil. The caste system as commonly understood is an anachronism and must go if Hinduism and India are to live and grow from day to day.

In this conception of *Cāturvarṇya* there is no inequality between men and women, no untouchability between man and man. This is working out the central conception of the *Gītā* that a man, a woman, a Vaiśya, a Sūdra, a man born in sin or Darkness are equal in terms of practical approach to perfection.

But Gāndhiji has not rested content with a new interpretation of *Cāturvarṇya*. He has been destroying the caste system in practice. The new Nationalism which he inherited from Vivekānanda and Śrī Aravinda as an integrating force has also developed into a more powerful, though less emotional, instrument in his hands. India is the pivot of world redemption. In her freedom lies the secret of world's freedom as well as peace. He sees his individual Liberation only in his being able to make India free. As Swāmi Nārāyaṇa added self-discipline to the emotionalism of Caitanya, Gāndhiji has added organised service to the worship of the Motherland.

The sweeping collective movements inspired by him have destroyed the restrictions on inter-marriage; lifted women to a free and equal life with men; shaken the foundation of untouchability, and given an intensive feeling of unity. The rigidity which had over-

come the social structure has disappeared less by his teachings than by the mighty waves of faith and enthusiasm which his programmes have evoked. In the urge to collective willing and action which he has imparted, the *Cāturvarṇya* has shaken off the crust of dead materials which has surrounded it for centuries.

Gāndhiji accepts the transmission of professional duties by heredity as a feature of a healthy society. By insisting on all professions as equal, he seeks to remove the stigma of inferiority attached to some professions. But he does insist on the fundamentals of *Cāturvarṇya*. Man's first duty is to perfect his spirit and come nearer to God. Similarly the first duty of a healthy society is to make it easy for a man to discharge this primary duty and thus to maintain its spiritual outlook. Men who devote themselves to selfless service of man, country or God must be accepted as the leaders of society. Conversely, the leaders of society must maintain life at a high level of moral tension. Social grouping according to heredity is a scientific fact and group occupations if considered equally respectable are a great social and economic advantage. The different social groups must realise their interdependence, by each group performing its own tasks and thus subserving the common interests of the whole. Thus interpreted, says Gāndhiji, *Varṇāśrama Dharma* is based on love and co-operation, not on violence and hatred.

This historical retrospect became necessary to displace the hasty Westernistic view of *Cāturvarṇya* and the caste-system. The social system in India, usually styled the caste system, is a product of the interaction of the fundamental ideas of *Cāturvarṇya* inherent in Indian culture and the historic vicissitudes which overtook India.

The fundamental ideas underlying *Cāturvarṇya* are few.

First,

Man's destiny is to rise above the limitations of attachment, wrath and fear and attain Perfection which is God.

Second,

A perfect society must have a spiritual outlook in order that it may provide the greatest possible scope for the attainment of individual perfection.

Third,

Such a social structure must be a social synthesis which has secured the dominating and cementing influence of that class of individuals whose nature is Pure and who have consecrated their life to service, self discipline and surrender to a Higher Purpose in life.

Fourth,

The predominant influence of such a class of men can be secured only by social adjustment calculated to achieve certain ends viz.

1. Society must consist of a hierarchy of groups in which by training and tradition the Pure must be accepted as the leaders.

2. Transmission of higher nature should be secured by encouraging inbreeding between persons of higher nature.

3. Environments in each group must be so arranged as would enable the members of each group to develop the higher of the Qualities (Purity or Energy as the case may be) conditioning the average nature in the group.

4. Encouragement should be given to individual natures to conquer heredity and social environments and seek self-fulfilment by performing his innate tasks.

Fifth,

Birth groups and connubial groups are natural to men and are necessary for individual evolution as they create conditions in which individual natures are rendered more easily transmissible by heredity and are shaped in early years to a pattern suited to group tasks; in this way alone inferior natures born in higher groups will be saved from falling lower.

Sixth,

The nature of man does not necessarily depend upon heredity, nor can it in some cases be influenced by environments in which their parents live or their nature. Where, therefore,

social barriers between groups impede individual efforts to rise to a higher order by marriage or social intercourse the central purpose of *Cāturvarṇya* is thwarted and society begins to stagnate. On the other hand, where social groups do not develop a conscious devotion to its characteristic tasks, competition and mutual hatred increase. Men then fall out of their groups so easily as to endanger the security of well regulated life without which the evolution of ordinary individuals is not possible.

Seventh

Self discipline is essential before individuals come to consecrate their life to their innate tasks and secure self-fulfilment. Such discipline is fostered by social conditions only when the Pure man is looked upon with respect and the guidance of life is placed in his hands.

Eighth,

Where men of Pure nature are not accepted as forming the higher order in society, approximation to them cannot be generally accepted as the aim of individual evolution and attainment of a personality transcending attachment, fear and wrath will not be recognised as the highest absolute value for an individual. In the result, organised violence will be the basis of society ; man will gain brutal strength but lose his soul. He would not gain peace, nor love, nor harmony ; nor happiness, certainly ; and not Godhood by any means.

Ninth,

Group exclusiveness and class war are destructive of life and the sense of social unity and interdependence must be fostered by a co-operative effort in which each group or class considers itself only a limb of the Society or *Lokasamgraha*.

These considerations may now be summarised.

The caste system in India is the result of an impact of these ideas on the collective will of Indians in the varying conditions through which they passed during the last three thousand years. From the earliest times there was a steady collective effort in two directions. One was to stabilise social order by creating a hierarchy of classes based on the degree of self-discipline and culture absorbed by each ; the other was to conform to the ideal of *Cāturvarṇya* which came to be enunciated by Śrī Kṛṣṇa. When need arose there was a further collective impulse to convert the social order into a defensive social fortress to resist alien cultures or disruptive forces. This led to an exaggerated emphasis on heredity in order to preserve the integrity of the family and the purity of cultural achievements. When the Central Asian hordes forced a totalitarian war on Indian society, it became impossible to readjust social conditions to the ideal of *Cāturvarṇya* and conservatism took hold of the social organisation. But since conditions in the country came to be settled there has been an urge to readjust the social order in the light of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's teachings.

The social system in India in spite of its defensive rigidity in the past has responded with great vitality under modern conditions. Of the eight great Masters, seven Indians and one Irish, who adopted India as her home, who have brought about the reintegration of Indian culture, six have been Brāhmaṇas born, Rāma Mohan Roy, Dayānanda, Rāṇaḍe, Rāmākṛṣṇa and Bankim and Tilak, all except three Rāma Mohan Roy, Rāṇaḍe and Bankim pursued the path of yoga ; and every one has been inspired by the undying message of the Aryan Culture and all except Dayānanda have owed their inspiration principally to the *Gītā*.

The Brāhmaṇa has taken to scholarship, to education, to law, to politics. The Kṣatriyas, the hereditary warriors, have by their valour won the admiration and esteem of the world. The Vaiśyas, in spite of the cramping foreign rule, have in a large measure contributed to the growth of commerce and industry in the country.

The new spirit in India seeks to adjust the claim of the individual nature to the claims of birth. It is transmuting the old Brahmanical superiority into the superiority of men, drawn from all classes, dedicated to service, self-discipline and to Purity, thus preserving the fundamental idea of *Cāturvarṇya*. The exclusiveness of the caste has gone ; but they

still perform and will continue to perform their tasks. Heredity is and will be exploited as a purposive force for shaping natures to a higher purpose.

The rigid caste system is breaking up; even untouchability, the Maginot line of social exclusiveness, is crumbling. But the fundamental basis of *Cāturvarṇya* can only be forsaken at our peril. Disregard to birth in matters of perpetuating cultural traits would destroy the 'pedigreed' gifts in which Indians have specialised. Again the Pure must lead, and must be held in veneration. Under the influence of Westernism we dare not degrade the seeker after self-discipline into the upper-servants of the rich and the powerful.

At the same time the central purpose of life must not be allowed to be overshadowed by considerations of birth and social environments. Man can attain Perfection only by self-imposed training. Every effort at this attainment must in the end be the pursuit by every man of his own Truth. This Truth can only be found in performing one's innate tasks at all cost, and thereby developing a rich harmonious personality which expresses the Divine in Him. The only justification for collective coercion which social obligations imply, must be to provide the individual with conditions which favour his moral and spiritual self-fulfilment in a social structure strong enough to give him security and tenacious enough to resist violent changes.

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Dr. A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

Prof. JAYANTAKRISHNA H. DAVE, M.A., LL.B.

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NOTES AND NEWS

Akhila Bharatiya Samskrit Sahitya Sansad

The sixteenth session of the All-India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan, organised to coordinate Sanskrit studies all over India and to explore ways and means for fostering the study of Sanskrit, was held at Agra on the 16th and 17th of November. Swami Sampurnananda presided over the Sammelan and Shri Munshiji inaugurated it. Pandits and scholars from all over India participated in the Sammelan. The Bhavan was represented by Acharya T. A. Venkateshwara Dikshitar, Prof. J. H. Dave and Miss Kalpalata Munshi. Lively discussions and various suggestions for achieving the objects of the Sammelan were put forward in the many speeches. The Sammelan finally passed the resolution moved by Shri Munshiji for the formation of The Akhila Bharatiya Samskrita Sahitya Sansad. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was elected its president. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Varadachariar, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, The Hon'ble Mr. Aney, Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Swami Sampurnanand and Shri Munshiji were elected the Vice-Presidents. Acharya T. A. Venkateshwara Dikshitar of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan was elected the General Secretary. Five other secretaries and twenty members representing the various provinces were also elected, in all making an executive committee of thirty-three members. It was also unanimously decided to have the Head Office of the Sansad at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

Sanskrit : Its Place and Meaning

(English rendering of the inaugural address in Sanskrit, delivered by Shri Munshiji at the Akhila Bharatiya Samskrita Sahitya Sammelan at Agra.)

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Sammelan. It is a welcome event from every point of view. And I hope that when the conference disperses, it would have created an instrument for co-ordinating the activities which foster the study of Sanskrit and the growth and development of Aryan Culture for which it stands, not only in this country but all over the world. When Macaulay's catastrophic experiment of trying to convert us into cultural parasites of the West was inaugurated we would have lost our national soul completely but for the fact that Samskritic culture was deep-rooted in our hearts, tradition, and life. A hundred years of such attempts to make us lose our soul has not been successful. I am seeing before me a fresh reintegration of Aryan Culture, not a soul-less revival of the past, but Aryan Culture as a modern force speaking to the whole of humanity, an eternal Culture ever fresh and ever invigorating.

Of this Aryan Culture, Sanskrit is the treasure-house, the inspiration and instrument. The modern educated Indian believes that Sanskrit like Latin and Greek is a dead language studied by a few; a sort of historic relic to be made an object of research by dry-as-dust scholars in cloistered seclusion. But Sanskrit is not a dead language; nor is it a museum piece for antiquarians. It is a living language. It is spoken more fluently than the mother tongue by thousands in this country. It is the medium of instruction in tens of thousands of Pathashalas all over the country. Hundreds of thousands of students are spending the best years of their life in our schools, colleges and universities deriving inspiration from it. It has given to all our Indian languages its grace, beauty and elasticity of expression. During the last century it has, in contact with Western Culture, brought about a literary and cultural Renaissance in the whole country, which expresses itself through an endless stream of literature in all our Indian languages. It is a living fountain-source of that inspiration which has been reintegrating the life of the millions. It has enabled the soul of India to express itself through a vitality which seeks to recapture the fundamentals of Aryan Culture.

The study of Sanskrit has fallen on evil days. The old time pathashala education is out of date, unprogressive and uncritical. The pathashala student acquires faith in forms and rituals. He has not the larger faith in the fundamentals of Culture which Sanskrit has given him. It is of the highest importance that all institutions should be knit together under a Federal Council of Sanskrit Education, and the courses should be modified and brought up-to-date and the titles and degrees should have the stamp of a central authority. This would involve a few leading institutions in the country combining to produce an All-India Organisation. Institutions like the oriental colleges at Lahore and Benares, the Sanskrit Association of Calcutta, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay, the Sanskrit Academy of Madras and the Sanskrit College of Tirupati, in my opinion, should all combine to pro-

duce an All India Sanskrit Academy, which would regulate Sanskrit studies. In this way alone you will be able to give to India an All-India University of Sanskrit.

Sanskrit education imparted in our Universities is inadequate and mechanical. A graduate student of Sanskrit looks upon Sanskrit as a means to acquire a teachership or a professorship, or at the most as an interesting subject for research. His fondness for learning Sanskrit is not supported by faith in its message and is devoid of passion. He studies the critical methods with the aid of English and German books—the living greatness of Sanskrit Culture, however, over which he spends his life, passes him by. Like the blind man in Kashmir, the beauty is all there before him but he cannot see it.

It is up to the Sanskrit professors in the Universities to rescue Sanskrit education from this mechanical method of education. The whole content of the education should be changed. Grammar, poetry and philosophy should not be stressed as now. The inspiring message of its literature must be brought home to every cultured man. Vyas, Valmiki and Kalidas must live in every heart as does Shakespeare in every Englishman's heart, in England. It is the Masters who, when they come to dwell in the hearts of a generation, reshape the lives of men and express through them their eternal message.

The time has come when the literary and cultural activities conducted through the languages being enriched by Sanskrit, should be coordinated. As I pointed out at Udaipur 88% of the languages in India have a Sanskrit vocabulary. Most languages in India owe their present richness and strength to Sanskrit. Each of these languages has a growing literature and powerful literary institutions. We have Sahitya Parishads in almost all languages of India. There should be closer contact between these institutions and a keener realisation of the fact that literary evolution in the country has a uniform shape and direction and only expresses the great cultural Renaissance produced by the contact of Sanskrit beauty and expressiveness with Western diversity and freedom.

We have this work before us, but it must not be forgotten that men of little faith in Aryan Culture in increasing numbers are coming to occupy important positions in life. They are never taught what is the greatest glory of their country. They are too conceited to ponder over the strength and the beauty of the pedestal of culture on which their life stands. They feel a pride in bowing before the West and in spurning what is their own.

And yet more. At times in their blindness some of them run away from our Culture for fear that they may not be classed as pure nationals or progressive men. Some of my friends, I know, look down upon an ardent Sanskritist as unprogressive and anti-national. This snobbery rises from the arrogance which ignorance breeds.

If we are a nation today it is because for centuries we have enjoyed unity of cultural life. If we have a national culture to-day it is because Sanskrit and all that it stands for has through ages shaped the life of millions and created language and idiom and outlook which make us feel one. We have a national consciousness because Indian leaders of modern times have sought to express the fundamental unity of culture through the modes of modern life. We would not be what we are today if Dayanand had not rescued Aryan Culture from the torpor of ages : if Ramakrishna Paramahansa had not given a fresh vitality to it by realising God in life ; if Vivekananda and Sri Aravinda had not recaptured its significance for modern life ; if Gandhiji had not lived up to its fundamental essentials, thereby letting flow a flood of faith among millions in this country. We live by this culture. We live for it. We can only make the future in and through it. Let us not forget that but for Sanskrit, Aryan culture would not have been what it is.

If India lives it is because of the Aryan Culture. If India wants to be free it is to see it vindicated in the life of man all over the world which at present is smothered by the dead-weight of materialism. If India has a future it is because of the immortal heritage of strength which she has received from it.

But the culture which I look forward to is the Aryan Culture reintegrated in the light of modern conditions. We do not want a revival of the past. No past can be revived. You cannot replace the Atomic Age by the Age of the Arrow. We cannot restrict ourselves to the villages when we can fly to London in a few hours.

But is the culture which Sanskrit represents dead or alive? If it is alive it must assimilate all new forces. We shall have to adjust ourselves to new contacts with the Anglo-Saxon, the Chinese, the Arabic and the Russian cultures. We shall have to exchange, to absorb and to influence new ideas and forces. Our culture, therefore, must be resilient and strong in the present. It must be ready to grow in the future. Let us throw away its impermanent trappings. Let us keep to its permanent values.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF BUDHAGUPTA WITH PURUGUPTA

By Prof. JAGAN NATH

Any attempt to prove that Purugupta is only another name of the Gupta emperor Budhagupta is bound to fail because of the existence of the Nalanda clay seal of the latter. According to the genealogy given in this seal, Budhagupta is the grandson of Kumaragupta I and not his son.¹ Mr. Dharendra Nath Mookerji who has put forward the theory of the identity of Purugupta and Budhagupta, has sought to circumvent this difficulty by questioning the authenticity of the Nalanda seal of Budhagupta. He says, "The Nalanda seal of Budhagupta is spurious as will be evident on looking at the figure of Garuḍa whose head is seen bent towards the right quite unlike all other seals in plate 8th and the Bhitari seal where the head and the legs of the Garuḍa are symmetrically placed on both sides of the central line of the body. Moreover lines 6 to 8 (and the letters) where the name of Budhagupta occurs are much irregular in comparison with the first five lines, quite unlike all other seals of the Imperial Guptas, where the lines and the letters are very symmetrically drawn. This seal seems to be the result of an attempt by someone who wanted to find a solution of the confused chronology of the Imperial Guptas after Skandagupta resulting from Dr. Fleet's theory."²

But these arguments are not only inadequate but are also irrelevant. Even if the figure of Garuḍa shows certain variations from other specimens, it cannot make us doubt the genuineness of the seal. But as a matter of fact it can be seen by a careful examination of the seal, that neither the head nor the left leg is bent towards the right of the central line, but is quite symmetrically placed. Mr. Mookerji is under the wrong impression that the present fragment is exactly the one half of the original seal. As a matter of fact the upper portion of the present fragment is somewhat bigger than the exact half of the original complete seal. As soon as this is realised the head or the leg will not appear to be bent towards the right but will be found to be quite symmetrically drawn. Similarly there is nothing irregular about the lines 6 to 8. As regards the letters they have been shortened in size because of the exigency of space. The seal being oval in shape, there was comparatively less space at the bottom as compared with the middle of the seal, from where the inscription begins. In order to put in all the matter in a seal of average size the engraver was compelled to reduce the size of the letters in lines 6 to 8. Exactly the same thing has happened in the case of Barabar Hill cave inscription of Anantavarman,³ where the size of the letters in the first two lines is smaller as compared with the letters in the following four lines, because the available space at the top was less. But that does not make the inscription unauthentic.

It has further to be noted that the seal was found at a depth of 20 feet, during the excavations of 1927-28. It is preposterous to suggest that some one had recently placed it at that great depth. And what could be the motive in forging such an antiquity.⁴ It does not solve the puzzle of later Gupta genealogy, but rather makes it more complicated. It creates fresh problems such as the relationship between Narasimhagupta and Budhagupta.

A really convincing argument against its genuineness would have been furnished by any discrepancy in the shape and formation of letters, but no such discrepancy exists. The letters are exactly of the usual type found in the Gupta inscriptions and provide a strong proof of the contemporary character of the seal.

Mr. Mookerji thinks that Purugupta is a shortened form of Purūrvasagupta and Budhagupta of Budhaputragupta : and since Purūrvas is the son of Budha he may also be called Budhaputra. Therefore both are identical. It is highly doubtful if Budhagupta could ever be equated with Budha, but even if we may concede this simply for the sake of argument,

¹ Vide text, published by Dr. H. Shastri, *Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material*, p. 68.

² *Bharatiya Vidyā*, Vol. VI, p. 172. It may be observed that Dr. Fleet's theory of the epoch of the Gupta era has nothing to do with the post-Skandaguptan chronological and genealogical problems which are solely the result of fresh discoveries, like the Sarnath inscription and Nalanda seals. Mr. Mookerji's insinuation is therefore quite unfounded.

³ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III, p. 221 Plate XXX B.

⁴ For several years at least up to 1-1-1935 when I examined it and found that it belonged to Budhagupta it was not noticed that the seal belonged to Budha-Gupta, although it had been classified and entered in the departmental records as No. S1,660.

it has to be borne in mind that there is not a single instance where the name Budhāputra has been used. We have at present six inscriptions of Budhagupta, excluding the Nalanda seal. In none of these the name occurs in the form Budhāputra. Similarly we have five records mentioning the name of Purugupta. But there is not a single instance where the form Purūvasagupta has been employed. It is therefore a purely gratuitous assumption that Purugupta is a shortened form of Purūvasagupta, and Budhagupta of Budhāputragupta. As Hoernle remarked long ago, it seems hardly probable that in such genealogies the same person would be called by different names.⁵

The evidence of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa has been totally misconstrued by Mr. Mookerji. He says, "In the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa also there is no mention of any king by name Pura after Skanda. The next king mentioned there is evidently Budha, wrongly spelt as 'Bibidhākhyo' or 'Nirdhākhyo' whose son (descendant) (*tasyānujaḥ*) in the next verse is stated as Bālāditya (*Bālādityaḥ*) this verifying Hiuen Tsang's statement."⁶ Thus according to Mr. Mookerji, Bālāditya was the son of Budhagupta. Let us now examine the original text relating to the Guptas. It runs as follows :

समुद्राख्यो नृपश्चैव विक्रमश्चैत्र कीर्त्तितः । महेन्द्रो नृत्रयो मुख्यः सकारयो अतः परम् ॥ ४४६ ॥

देवराजाख्यनामासौ (भविष्यति) युगाधमे । निर्द्धारव्ये (विवेधारव्या) नृपः श्रेष्ठः बुद्धिमान् धर्मवत्सलः ॥ ६४७ ॥

तस्याप्यनुजो बलाध्यक्षः (बालाध्यः) शामने च हिते रतः प्राचीं समुदपर्यन्तां त्रैत्यांकृतशोभनां ॥ ६४८ ॥

The presence of the demonstrative pronoun in verse 647, evidently shows that Devarāja was another name of the s- initialled king who had many names. Or, as a less probable alternative, we can take Devarāja as a separate monarch who succeeded the s- initialled king, and had many names. But instead of Vividhākhyāḥ Mr. Mookerji wants to read Budhākhyāḥ. With this emendation the verse would stand thus :—

देवराजाख्यनामासौ भविष्यति युगाधमे । बुध रव्यो नृपश्चैव बुद्धिमान् धर्मवत्सलः ॥

On the basis of this text we can take Devarāja either as an independent monarch different from Budhagupta or as identical with him. If we take him to be different from Budhagupta then Mr. Mookerji's conclusion that Skandagupta was immediately succeeded by Budhagupta is upset. But what is still more fatal to Mr. Mookerji's view is the statement in the next verse that the younger brother of this monarch (Budhagupta, according to Mr. Mookerji) was Bālāditya (*Bālādityaḥ*). Mr. Mookerji tries to tide over this difficulty by taking *anuja* in the sense of a descendant, and hence son. But *anuja* means a younger brother, and it is in this sense only that the word is commonly used. Descendant is a very loose rendering and there seems to be no exigency which compelled the author to use a familiar word in an obscure sense. He could have easily used *ātmajah*, if according to his information Bālāditya was the son of Devarāja Budhagupta. But even with this distorting of meanings, the difficulty in Mr. Mookerji's way is not removed for according to Hiuen Tsang on whom Mr. Mookerji places reliance Bālāditya was the son or successor of Tathāgatagupta who had succeeded Budhagupta (Fo-tō-Ku-tō) and not of Budhagupta himself.

There is therefore no evidence, which would support the identification of Purugupta with Budhagupta, as proposed by Mr. Mookerji.

In this connection Mr. Mookerji has made another statement which also may be examined. He says that the silver coins which Allan doubtfully attributed to Mahārāja Harigupta may really belong to Śrīgupta, (Chi-Li-Ko-to) mentioned by I Tsing. One possessing even an elementary knowledge of epigraphy can easily realise that the word restored as (Ha)ri by Allan can never be (Ś)ri, for in the former reading it is a complete *r* (a vertical bar with a top mark) with the medial *i* over its top, while in Śrī we require a subscript *r* i.e. a short horizontal bar slightly bent, and placed at the bottom of Ś. Who can confuse two so distinct things as a full *r* and subscript *r*?

⁵ The case of Candragupta II is hardly a parallel instance, for in the Gupta genealogies the name is uniformly given as Candar Gupta. It is only in the Vākātaka inscriptions that the alternative name Deva Gupta occurs.

⁶ *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, VI, p. 171.

⁷ Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, pp. 47-48 (text).

ĀMA KING OF KĀNYAKUBJA

By Dr. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

The value of the traditions recorded in the *Skanda Purāṇa* as sources of the early medieval history of India was some years ago demonstrated by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri¹ who traced a story about Bhoja I (c. 836-85 A.D.), the Gujara-Pratīhāra emperor of Kanauj, in the Vastrāpatha-māhātmya in the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa section of the above Purāṇa. Attention of scholars may be drawn to another historical tradition about an eighth century king of Kanauj in the section called Dharmāranya-khaṇḍa belonging to the Brahmakhaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. The story, which is set forth on the background of an attempt of the Trivedī Brāhmaṇas to belittle the social position of the Caturvedis, runs as follows.²

There was a holy land called Dharmāranya famous in all India for the Hariḥṣetra on the south bank of the river Suvarṇā and for the temples of Vakulasvāmī (Sun), Sūryasvāmī (Hari) and Śrīmātā at places like Moherakapura. The localities such as Moṭaraka, Madhuvāsa and the Surekha hill belonged to the Dharmāranya not far from which seems to have been a holy place called Śrīḥṣetra on the bank of the river Sābhramatī to the east of Sītāpura. Another locality in the neighbourhood of Sītāpura was Dharmālaya on the river Kāśyapī.³

Hearing of the exceptional sanctity of the Dharmāranya from Vasiṣṭha, the Ikṣvāku hero Rāma once visited Moherakapura on pilgrimage. A large number of Traividyā or Trayividyā Brāhmaṇas who had been installed in the Dharmāranya by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva at the beginning of creation but had fled away from the country for fear of a demon named Lohāsura, was reinstated to their respective villages by Rāma according to the custom called *jīrṇoddhāra*, 'renewing the old', i.e. reconfirmation of a charter.⁴ A number

¹ *IHQ*, March, 1927, p. 129 ff.

² *Skanda P.*, Chs. 31-38.

³ Moherakapura has been identified with modern Moharpur, 14 miles to the north of Vindhyachal town in the Mirzapur Dist., U. P. According to some traditions Dharmāranya comprised portions of the Districts of Balia and Ghazipur. The river Suvarṇā may be the same as the Son. Kāśyapī or Kāśyapī-Gaṅgā is supposed to be another name of the Sābhramatī which is usually identified with the celebrated Sābarmatī falling in the Gulf of Cambay. In spite however of the fact that another Dharmāranya is traced in the Kotah State of Rajputana, the Sābhramatī or Kāśyapī of the text in question appears to belong to the U. P. See Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v.; also *Skanda P.*, loc. cit., Chs. 16, 18 (v. 121), 25 (v. 10), etc.

⁴ The imprecatory verses (*op. cit.*, Chs. 34, 23-41) quoted in the Purāṇa from the fictitious charter of Rāma are interesting to students of mediaeval copper-plate grants.

आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः कथयन्ति पितामहाः। भूमिदोऽस्मत्कुले जातः सोऽस्मान् संतारयिष्यति ॥
बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः पृथिवी त्रियम्। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः। आच्छेत्ता चानुमता च तान्येव नरकं व्रजेत् ॥..... भूमेरंगुलहर्ता हि स कथं पापमाचरेत्।
भूमेरंगुलदाता च स कथं पुण्यमाचरेत् ॥ अश्वमेधसहस्राणां राजसूयशतस्य च। कन्याशतप्रदानस्य फलं प्राप्नोति
भूमिदः॥...भूमेरंगुलमेकं तु ये हर्ति खल नराः। विष्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः। कृष्णसर्पाः प्रजायन्ते दत्तदा-
यापहारकाः ॥ तटाकानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन वा। गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता विशुष्यति ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुनर्ध-
नानि दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि। औदार्यतो रिपुनिवेदितानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥...एकैव भगिनी लोके
सर्वेषामेव भूभुजाम्। न भोज्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुधरा ॥ दत्त्वा भूमिं भाविनः पार्थिवेशान् भूयोभूयो याचते
रामचन्द्रः। सामान्योऽयं धर्मैरेतुर्गुणाणां स्वे स्वे काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ अस्मिन् वंशे क्षितौ कोपि राजा यदि
भविष्यति। तस्याहं करलभोऽस्मि महत्तं यदि पाल्यते ॥

There is no doubt that the above verses of the Purāṇa were imitated from the imprecatory section of some early copper-plate charters; but it seems probable that, in their turn, they also influenced the elaborate imprecation contained in the grants of some medieval dynasties (cf., e.g., the charters of the Somavamsīs of Orissa).

of the Brāhmaṇas were settled at and in the vicinity of Moherakapura where Rāma celebrated a sacrifice with the help of 18 *mehi-vāḍavas* (Mehi Brāhmaṇas). He founded the town of Sitāpura and dedicated it together with 50 other villages to 18000 Brāhmaṇas of various *gotras*. No less than 36000 Vaiśyas as well as Śūdras four times that number were also settled in the land for serving the Brāhmaṇas. A Brāhmaṇa receiving a village necessarily became its lord.

At the end of Dvāpara, and about the beginning of the Kali age, there was a king named Āma who ruled at Kānyakubja. He was not only reported to be a good ruler, but was a *sārvabhauma* (emperor or universal ruler).² Owing to the evil influence of the Kali age, the people of Āma's kingdom renounced their Vaiṣṇava faith and became followers of the Bauddha-dharma (sic.) at the instigation of monks known as the *kṣapaṇa*. The king had, by the queen Māmā, a daughter named Ratnagaṅgā who, when she was 16 years of age and was still unmarried, came under the influence of the *jivika* (*ājivika*?) named Indrasūri. This monk had come to the Kānyakubja-deśa from elsewhere and captivated the princess by the *śābarī mantravidyā* and *śulikatma*. Ratnagaṅgā soon became an ardent follower of the Jaina-dharma at the instruction of the *kṣapaṇas*. King Āma then gave his daughter in marriage to Kumārapāla (called Kumbhīpāla in one case) who was the lord of Brahmāvarta.⁶ On the occasion of the marriage, the king made a present of the town of Moherakapura to his son-in-law who then came to the Dharmāranya where he made his capital and established images of the founders of Jainism. People of the Dharmāranya belonging to the different *varṇas* became followers of the Jaina-dharma, and all regard for the Brāhmaṇas and their *śāntika* and *Paṇṣṭika* rites vanished from the land. The Traividya Brāhmaṇas were deprived of their villages that had been allotted to them by Rāma, and, in utter distress, they resolved to make a complaint against Kumārapāla's conduct to king Āma who was himself residing at Kānyakubja surrounded by *pāṣaṇḍas*. The *moḍha-vāḍavas* (Moḍha Brāhmaṇas)⁷ reached Kānyakubja in a few days and were taking rest on the bank of the Ganges. They were brought by the *cāras* next morning to king Āma who asked them their business but did not honour them by saluting them or by rising from his seat. The Brāhmaṇas said, "O King, we have come from the Dharmāranya. Your son-in-law who is a follower of Jainism and is guided by Indrasūri has confiscated our lands which were granted to us first by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and afterwards by Rāma." The king asked the Brāhmaṇas to go back to Kumārapāla with his order that the Brāhmaṇas should be provided with shelter. But learning from the Brāhmaṇas all about his father-in-law's order, Kumārapāla said: "I cannot recognise Rāma's charter and give shelter to Brāhmaṇas who kill animals at sacrifices. I have no regard for those who are guilty of *himsā* (cruelty to animals)." The Brāhmaṇas pointed out that *himsā* sanctioned by the Vedas was no *himsā* at all. They further said, "Rāma, through the agency of Hanumān, granted to us 144 villages and 13 and 56 hamlets on other occasions after having performed the *māhādāna* ceremonies on the banks of the Ganges and the Kāśyapī. He also granted us the service of 36000 Gobhujas and 125000 merchants known as Māṇḍalikas." Then Kumārapāla said, "If you can show me an *abhijñāna* from Hanumān, I shall see that the people once again become followers of the Vedic religion; but in case you fail to do so, all of you shall have to accept the Jaina faith."

Then the Brāhmaṇas, who belonged to 64 different *gotras*, resolved to select representatives of all the *gotras* to go to meet Hanumān at Setubandha Rāmeśvara. It was argued that a Brāhmaṇa selected for going to Setubandha would be an outcast if he would refuse to go there. In the meantime, Kumārapāla boasted that he would compel the Brāhmaṇas to take to cultivation and begging as means of livelihood. Enraged at this, 3000 Brāhmaṇas put their signatures to a document signifying their determination to visit Setubandha. Kumārapāla then ordered the Gobhujas merchants to stop the Brāhmaṇas; but they refused to do so, as they were not followers of Jainism. The Aḍālaya Śūdras, some of whom had

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Ch. 36, vv. 12-13, 34.

⁶ According to Manu, II, 17 (cf. *Meghadūta*, 48), the Brahmāvarta country lay between the rivers Sarasvatī and Drśadvatī in the Eastern Panjab.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, Ch. 36, v. 49.

accepted Jainism, were next ordered to stop the Brāhmaṇas. The Aḍālas requested the Brāhmaṇas to be wise and to act according to the will of the prince. As a result of these overtures, 15000 Brāhmaṇas gave up their intention of going to Setubandha. They received some lands from Kumārapāla and became famous under the name of Caturvidha or Caturvidya. But 3000 Traividya or Trayividya Brāhmaṇas set out for Setubandha without caring for the prince's favour.

The Brāhmaṇas underwent much hardship in course of the travel and at length met Hanumān who was in the guise of an old Brāhmaṇa. They told him their story. "We received," said they, "our lands originally from Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Rāma next confirmed the grants by a charter through the agency of Hanumān. We were then 444 in number and had 36000 merchants for serving us. Those Śūdra merchants have now grown to be 125000 in number and are divided in three classes, viz. Gobhuja, Aḍāla and Māṇḍaliya. At present there is a king named Āma who does not care for Rāma's charter. His son-in-law the wicked Kumārapāla, who is guided by the *buddha-dharmi* (sic.) Jaina Indrasūri, has confiscated our lands. Some of the merchants have become followers of Jainism and are disregarding Rāma and Hanumān. Kumārapāla has declined to give us back our lands unless we are able to show him a *pratyaya* from Hanumān." When the Brāhmaṇas came to know that the old man before them was no other than Hanumān himself, they prayed to him to kill the sinful king Āma and the wicked Kumārapāla. Hanumān then took out a few hairs from his left and right arms and made out of them two balls which were handed over to the Brāhmaṇas. They were advised to go to Kumārapāla and demand their lands. If the prince would not comply with the demand, they were further instructed to throw on the ground the ball made of the hairs from the left arm of Hanumān. That, the Brāhmaṇas were assured, would cause a terrible fire which would only be extinguished when the other ball would be thrown into it.

The Traividyas went back to the Kānyakubja country with the two balls as Hanumān's *ahbijñāna*. When they reached Kumārapāla's palace, they were received by the *rājaputra* with a smile and were greeted with a sarcastic remark by the prince himself. As expected, the demand of the Brāhmaṇas was rejected by Kumārapāla who refused to grant them any *ṛtti* or *grāma* or even a *varāṅikā*. The Brāhmaṇas then created a great fire by throwing on the ground one of the balls and suddenly the whole palace was ablaze. Utterly helpless, Kumārapāla was compelled to submit to the Brāhmaṇas' demands. He not only became a devotee of Rāma, but made Vaiṣṇavism the religion of the state and banished all heretics. There was no longer any person opposed to the Vedic religion. The Brāhmaṇas received their lands back and the Aḍhaviya section of the Gobhuja merchants was employed at their service. When the prince was preparing a charter in favour of the Traividyas on the bank of the Ganges, the Caturvidyas offered a dispute and claimed a share of the lands. Although the Caturvidyas were defeated at a *tulādāma* (sic. *tulādivya*), they received from Kumārapāla a place of residence called Sukhavāsa. But they were forbidden any matrimonial relation with the Traividyas.

It will be seen that the above story, though rather carelessly written, is not without interest to a student of the social history of the Trivedī and Caturvedī Brāhmaṇas of U. P. Much more interesting however is the reference to Āma, the Jain King of Kanauj, and to his son-in-law and feudatory the Jain Kumārapāla who was originally a prince of the Eastern Panjab but later became the ruler of Moharpur. King Āma, though he is assigned to the beginning of the Kali age, is apparently no other than the son of Yaśovarman (c. 728—53 A.D.), King of Kanauj, who was a contemporary of King Lalitāditya of Kashmir (c. 730—66 A.D.). Yaśovarman's embassy reached the court of the Chinese emperor Hiuen-tsung (713—55 A.D.) in the year 731 A.D., and according to Jain writers, he was ruling in the year 743 A.D. According to Rājasekhara's *Prabandhakośa*, a Jain monk named Bappabhaṭṭi, who was initiated in 750 A.D., converted to Jainism Amarāja, son of King Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Āma was born of queen Yaśodevī during her temporary exile due to the machinations of a co-wife. Bappabhaṭṭi is said to have met Āma soon after his initiation when the latter was living as a voluntary exile in Gujarat, having been displeased with the treatment he received from his father. He was made a *Sūri* in 754 A.D. at the request of Āma who

had then ascended the throne after his fathers' death. Āmarāja thus ascended the throne about 753 A.D. and must have ceased to be a King of Kanauj long before 783 A.D. when, according to the Jain *Harivamśa* and the Pāla inscriptions, a king named Indrāyudha was ruling at Kanauj. According to the *Prabhāvākacarita*, Āma was succeeded by the immoral Dunduka who was murdered by his son Bhoja. Indrāyudha on the other hand seems to have been preceded at least by one king named Vajrāyudha, who is mentioned in Rājasekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* as King of Pañcāla with his capital at Kanauj. It is not improbable that these kings with names ending with the word *āyudha* were related to Kamalāyudha referred to in some works as a poet and mentioned in Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍavaha* as one resorting to whose feet Vākpati derived his importance. This Kamalāyudha may have been a chief under Yaśovarman and may have been appointed governor of Kanauj by Āma when the latter transferred his capital to Gwalior. Either Kamalāyudha or his successor Vajrāyudha may have assumed independence.⁸

It is interesting to note that while the *Prabhāvākacarita* and the *Skanda P.* represent Āma as a King of Kanauj, the *Bappabhaṭṭicarita* and the *Prabhandhakosa* mention him as holding his court at Gopagiri or Gwalior. He therefore seems either to have transferred his capital from Kanauj to Gwalior or to have been ousted from the Kanauj region by Kamalāyudha or Vajrāyudha. He is said to have been a devout Jaina who visited such Jaina holy places as Stambhatirtha (Cambay), Vimalagiri (Palitana), Raivatādri (Girnar) and Prabhāsa (Patan). He is represented by Jain authors as having constant hostility with Dharma who was a King of Gauḍa and had his capital at Lakṣaṇavati which was a city on the suburbs of Gauḍa (modern Gaur in the Maldah Dist.) founded probably by Lakṣmaṇasena (c. 1185—1206 A.D.). Although the name of Āma's enemy reminds one of Dharmapāla (c. 769—815 A.D.) whose date was not far removed from that of Āma, the tradition may actually refer to a struggle with an earlier Gauḍa king related with the Gauḍa ruler of both Gauḍa and Magadha who, according to the *Gauḍavaha*, was killed by Āma's father Yaśovarman and with Bhaṭa lord of Gauḍa mentioned in the Chastu inscription of Bālāditya of the Guhila dynasty.

A CORRECTION

Dines Chandra Sircar

There are some mistakes that have unfortunately crept into my note on Kālapriya and Brahmasilā (*above*, VI, pp. 123-25). Albirūnī (p. 125) apparently gives the distance from Kanauj to Jajjamau as 12 *farsakh* (about 45 miles); from Jajjamau to Ābhāpurī as 8 *farsakh* (about 30 miles); from Ābhāpurī to Kuraha as 8 *farsakh* (about 30 miles); from Kuraha to Brahmasilā as 8 *farsakh* (about 30 miles); and from Brahmasilā to Prayāga or Allahābād as 12 *farsakh* (about 45 miles). Brahmasilā therefore lay about 45 miles to the west or north-west of Allahābād. Readers are requested to omit the sentence beginning with "But the distance of Prayāga," etc. on the same page as well as foot-note 12. In the verse quoted at p. 124, read यन्माद्यद्वि^० and रगाध^० and add "EI, XXVI, p. 162" to foot-note 7. Read the second कन्यकुब्जं in foot-note 4, as कन्याकुब्ज. In foot-note 7a, read "Pratihāra possession of Malwa" in place of "Pratihāra possession of Kanauj."

⁸ Cf. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, II, pp. 80 f. 432; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 211 f.

AMRTĀNANDATĪRTHA, THE AUTHOR OF THE PARAMAPADA NIRNĀYAKA

By Prof. G. V. DEVASTHALI.

Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* has noticed Amṛtānandatīrtha as the author of several works including the *Paramapada-nirṇāyaka* (PPN). Referring to this entry Mr. E. P. Radhakrishnan has remarked¹ that 'it is evident that a good deal of confusion was made between Amṛtānanda, the vedantin and Amṛtānanda, the tantric writer.' Later on in the same paper he adds² : 'About the tantric Amṛtānanda very little is known. Probably he is the author of all the above tantra works viz. *Yoginīhṛdaya-ḍīpikā*, *Tārakopadeśavyavasthā Paramapadanirṇāyaka*, *Bhargāṅghribhūṣaṇa*, *Sivatattvaviveka*, etc.' This author, he says, was a disciple of Puṇyānandanātha, the author of the *Kāmakalāvilāsa*. This last piece of information is based on the colophon occurring at the end of the *Yoginīhṛdaya-ḍīpikā* and, as such it is certain that Amṛtānanda, the author of the *Yoginīhṛdaya-ḍīpikā*, was a disciple of one Puṇyānandanātha. But this does not prove that the author (or authors) of all the works mentioned above is (or are) disciple (or disciples) of the same person. Before this can be asserted one must show conclusively that the works are, one and all, from the same pen. Nor again is it correct to state that all above-mentioned works are tāntric. At least one of these—The PPN—as we shall see has little connection with tantra system as such. We shall here confine ourselves to this PPN only and record some information regarding the work and also its author.

And at the very outset we have to notice that the real honorific title of the author of this work is 'tīrtha' and not 'nātha'. Thus we must distinguish clearly between the two names Amṛtānandanātha (AN) and Amṛtānanda-tīrtha (AT). We have in the Bhadkamkar Memorial Collection of Sanskrit and Prākṛit Manuscripts in the University Library of Bombay a MS³ of the PPN, which is specifically called there a 'prakaraṇa'.⁴ This MS also contains a commentary on this 'prakaraṇa' which appears to have been composed by the author himself. There in the colophon⁵ the name of the author appears as simply Amṛtānanda without 'nātha' or 'tīrtha', while in one of the concluding verses⁶ it appears as Amṛtayati. Here evidently the name is shortened owing to the exigencies of metre. In the beginning of the commentary, however, the name is given as Amṛtānandatīrtha.⁷ From all this it is clear that the author's

¹ See 'Two Amṛtānandas—both Vedāntins' in *Festschrift Kane*, p. 348.

² *loc. cit.*

³ This is B. M. C. 110-1 which I have described in my *Descriptive Catalogue* under No. 2073. All the quotations in this article are taken from this *Catalogue* with the kind permission of Dr. Joshi of the University Library of Bombay.

⁴ Cf. तदन्यदेवतोत्कर्षवादिभिस्तमसा श्रुतैः ।

कृतदुस्तर्कविच्छिन्नै कुर्वे प्रकरणं मुदा ॥२॥

Also see the colophon quoted in note 5 below.

⁵ The colophon reads : इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमद्ब्रह्मानन्दतीर्थशिष्यामृतानन्दविरचित
परमपदनिर्णायकप्रकरणं सम्पूर्णम् ।

⁶ Cf. एवं श्रीपरमशिवेरितो विरच्य

प्रेम्णेदं प्रकरवरं तदद्भुतियुग्मे ।

संस्थाप्यामृतयतिरत्र तत्कृपातो

दुस्तर्कान्बुधिमपि बध्यवैदिकानाम् ॥

⁷ Cf. इह श्रीमत्परमशिवपादपद्मानुसन्धानपरायणो यतिरमृतानन्दतीर्थः परमपदनिर्णायकं प्रकरणं
चिकीर्षुः निर्विघ्नेन तत्परिसमाप्तिप्रचयगमनार्थं.....मङ्गलमाचरति ।

real name is simply Amṛtānanda or Amṛtayati or more fully Amṛtānandatīrtha. But it cannot be Amṛtānandanātha. That it must be Amṛtānandatīrtha (and not 'nātha') is also made more probable by the fact that the name of his Guru also ends in 'tīrtha' and not 'nātha' as we shall presently notice.

About the faith of this author again it may not be true to say that he was a tāntrika. In the introductory verse of his 'prakaraṇa' he pays obeisance to god Śiva.⁸ In the concluding verse⁹ again he informs us that he composed this work being inspired by Parama Śiva. There can, therefore, be no doubt that he is a Śaiva or even a staunch devotee of god Śiva. From the subject matter of this work again we arrive at the same conclusion. But there is hardly anything, at least so far as this work is concerned, to warrant the conclusion that he was a tāntrika. On the contrary his connection with Appaya Dikṣita would favour the idea of his being a vedāntin, of course, with Śaivite inclinations.

Coming to the name of the work itself we find that it is too transparent to require any elucidation. It is a dissertation meant to decide the exact significance of the expression "Parama pada" which occurs in the Veda in 'तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम्'. The author tells¹⁰ us that the followers of different faiths have, on the strength of unsound logic, tried to show that it refers to this or that particular deity; and that in this work he undertakes to refute their views and establish the right view, viz. that it means god Śiva and none else. The author is so sure of the infallibility of his work that in one of the concluding verses¹¹ he rather proudly declares that he has fettered (i.e. shattered or subdued) the ocean of the illogical arguments (of his rivals). Thus the Śaivite trend of the work is quite evident on its very face and it is also clear that there is no tāntrika element at all so far as this work is concerned.

We now come to the name of the guru of Amṛtānandatīrtha. From the colophon of our MS. referred to above there can be no doubt that the name of the preceptor of AT must be Brahmanānandatīrtha. The colophon describes this Brahmanānandatīrtha as paramahansa-parivrajakācārya which shows that he was a vedāntin.

One more curious fact we must notice about our author, and that is his connection with the great writer Appaya Dikṣita. In the concluding verse¹² he not only offers salutation to Sāmba i.e. god Śiva, but declares that Sāmba has assumed the form of Appaya Dikṣita. In

- ⁸ Read : यस्योमाङ्केस्ति वामे शशिसुरसरिता मस्तके पाश्वयोः स्तः
सुब्रह्मण्येभवकत्रौ परित उरगशाय्यब्जयोन्यादिदेवाः ।
तिष्ठन्त्यग्रे गणेशा अगणितविभवा नन्दिचण्डेशमुख्याः
स्युर्मध्ये हैमसिंहासनगतमनिशं भावये तं महेशम् ॥ १ ॥

The commentary also begins with a similar obeisance to Maheśa Śiva.

- ⁹ Cf. एवं श्रीपरमशिवेरितो विरच्य
प्रेम्णेदं प्रकरवरं तदङ्घ्रियुग्मे ।
¹⁰ Cf. श्रुतिप्रमुखमानोक्तं यद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् ।
तच्छ्रीसाम्ब इति स्पष्टोक्तुं तद्वक्तुं तुष्टये ॥ १ ॥
तदन्यदेवतोत्कर्षवादिभिस्तमसा वृष्टः ।
कृतदुस्तरं विच्छिद्यै कुर्वे प्रकरणं मुदा ॥ २ ॥
¹¹ Cf. दुस्तकाम्बुधिमपि बध्यवैदिकानाम् ॥
¹² Read : यद्वाग्वज्रवरप्रहारदलितस्वान्ता निपेतुर्भृशम्
शुक्लिध्वान्तमुखा अवैदिकमताभ्यासासदुर्बुद्धयः ॥
शैवा यद्वचनामृतं श्रुतिपुटैः पीत्वाप्नुयुः श्रीशिवं
तस्मा अप्ययदीक्षिताकृतिमते साम्बाय नित्यं नमः ॥
¹³ अथ श्रीमदप्पयदीक्षितरूपिणं परमशिवं प्रणमति ।

the commentary¹³ introducing this verse he clearly states that he is offering his salutation to Parama Śiva in the form of Appaya Dikṣita. In the verse itself Appaya Dikṣita is extolled as a mighty exponent of Śaivism whose argument like the bolt from the blue has time and again shattered all non-believers and whose nectar-like speech has led many a Śaiva to the attainment of Śiva. There can be no doubt that this Appaya Dikṣita referred to by our author is none other than the famous polymath of the latter half of the sixteenth century of the Christian era.

This brings us to the question of the date of the composition of *PPN* in particular and also the probable limits of the literary career of AT in general. From the reference that he has made to Appaya Dikṣita it is evident that our author is later than that great writer. Again from the statement that the *PPN* was composed by him at the command of Parama Śiva and from the way in which Appaya Dikṣita is described and identified with Parama Śiva it would appear that the work was undertaken by our author at the command of Appaya Dikṣita himself. But it appears that by this time Appaya Dikṣita (AD) had attained immense fame and must as such have been in the closing years of life. These considerations make it probable that the work under discussion must have been composed in the last years of AD's career. Now AD, we are told,¹⁴ must have been alive during the earlier part of the literary career of Jagannātha Paṇḍita which lies between A.D. 1620 and 1660. It may, therefore, be said with tolerable certainty that AT composed his *PPN* sometime about A.D. 1620.

As for the limits of the career of AT we can very well fix the upper limit on the strength of the connection he has with AD. It is clear that he was a junior contemporary of AD. Again it may be noted that AT was already a yati (a recluse) when he composed this 'prakaraṇa.' This would show that he was sufficiently advanced in age. We may, therefore, not be far from the truth if we fix up the upper limit of AT's career at c. A.D. 1600. The lower limit we may be able to fix on the strength of some piece of external evidence supplied by the Ms. referred to above. At the end of the Ms. after the completion of the *PPN* we have a small work of unknown authorship wherein are refuted some of the views of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the famous commentator of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*). The author of this work states in the introductory verses¹⁵ that thus far all the rival views have been refuted and it has been established that *Viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam* means Śāmba i.e. god Śiva. This obviously is a reference to the contents of the *PPN*. But it appears almost certain that this work is not a part of the *PPN*. It is, therefore, likely that it is the work of some later writer who has tried to supplement the work of AT, by supplying the matter which is wanting therein. Now this writer has tried to refute Nīlakaṇṭha's statements prejudicial to the supremacy of god Śiva which he has made in his commentary on the *Mbh* and other works¹⁶ since AT had done nothing in his 'prakaraṇa' to refute them. But from the statement of AT in his *PPN* it would seem that he had set at naught all the rival views that were known to him. His silence about Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara's statements, therefore, would show that he was not aware of them. This in other words means that he must have composed his work before Nīlakaṇṭha wrote his commentaries. Now Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator of the *Mbh*, and other works, is known to have composed his commentaries on the

¹⁴ Cf. Kane, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Introduction, pp. cxxxi f.

¹⁵ Read : इयता ग्रन्थसन्दर्भेणात्र केचन वादिनः ।

विष्णुत्कर्षे धृतश्रद्धाः शिवोत्कर्षासहिष्णवः ॥ १ ॥

परे शिवस्य विष्ण्वादिवैः साध्ये धृतग्रहाः ।

तेषां पक्षो मानयुक्तीः समाश्रित्य निराकृतः ॥ २ ॥

विष्णोः परमधाम्नः श्रीसाम्बरूपत्वनिर्णयात् ।

अथ भारतटीकादौ यश्वतुर्धरजल्पितः ।

शिवोत्कर्षविरोध्यर्थोऽनूय सम्यङ् निरस्यते ॥ ३ ॥

Śivalāṇḍava and the *Ganeśagītā* in A.D. 1680 and 1693 respectively.¹⁷ As for his commentary on the *Mbh.* itself it may be remembered that a Ms. of this commentary belonging to Govinda Caturdhara, the son of Nilakaṇṭha himself, is dated A.D. 1691; while a Ms. of this commentary on the Ādiparvan of the *Mbh.* bears the date Śaka 1609 corresponding to the year 1687 of the Christian era.¹⁸ Assuming that the author of the *PPN* flourished a few decades earlier than these dates we may fix the lower limit for the career of AT at about 1660 A.D. AT's career may, therefore, approximately be stated as lying between A.D. 1600 and 1660.

Aufrecht has assigned several works to AT. But at this stage it is not possible to say anything very definitely about them or even to fix up their chronological order. It must, however, be noted that Aufrecht has rightly distinguished the author of the *Yoginīhṛdaya-dīpikā* from the author of the *PPN*. The former is Amṛtānandanātha (AN), the latter is AT. Again the former is a disciple of Puṇyānandanātha, the latter of Brahmānandatīrtha. The former is a tāntrika; the latter as we have seen, a Vedāntin with Śaivite inclinations. It is, however, clear that AT, though a Vedāntin, has to be distinguished from both the vedāntin Amṛtānandas (or more correctly Amṛtānandanāthas) who flourished much earlier than our AT as can be seen from the dates fixed for them by Mr. Radhakrishnan.¹⁹

Our findings about AT and his *PPN*. may now be stated in brief as follows :—

- (1) The name of the author of the *PPN*. is Amṛtayati or Amṛtānanda or Amṛtānandatīrtha, but not Amṛtānandanātha.
- (2) He is a staunch Śaiva, but there is nothing to show that he was a tāntrika.
- (3) His guru is Brahmānandatīrtha who is styled paramahansa-parivrajakācārya.
- (4) He composed his prakaraṇa *PPN* at the command of Appaya Dikṣita whom he extols as an incarnation of Parama Śiva.
- (5) He is not aware of the statements prejudicial to his view about the signification of 'parama pada' made by Nilakaṇṭha, the commentator of the *Mbh.* Hence he has done nothing to refute them.
- (6) His career must, therefore, lie between A.D. 1600 and 1660.
- (7) His *PPN* was very probably composed in the closing years of the career of Appaya Dikṣita i.e. sometime about 1620 A.D.

¹⁷ See Prof. Gode's paper 'On Nilakaṇṭha Caturdhara etc.' in BORI, Silver Jubilee Volume, p. 146, note 2.

¹⁸ See Prof. Gode, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹ See *Festschrift Kane*, p. 350.

A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION AT LONAD

By Dr. MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

Lonad is a small hamlet about 3½ miles N. E. E. of Kalyan, in the Bhiwandi taluka of the Thana district in the Bombay Presidency and seems to have been a place of considerable antiquity. Some early Brahmanical caves belonging to about VII-VIII century A.D., lying about a mile to the north of the present village and carved in the spur of the Chanderi hill are described by Burgess in A.S.W.I., Vol. V, pp. 53-54. Though at present nothing much is known about the early history of Lonad, it seems to have attained an important position under the Silāhāra kings of North Konkan. Its ancient name is obtained in the Bhadane Plates of Aparāditya, Saka 919, wherein a Sun temple called Lonāditya is said to have existed in Lovane-tāta. A mediaeval temple called Rāmeshwara standing in the midst of this village is also described by Cousens in his "Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan" on pages 21-22.

In A.D. 1882, several Silāhāra stone inscriptions were found in the vicinity of Lonad.

About one Silāhāra inscription the Bombay Gazetteer states "A Sun and Moon land grant stone lies about a mile to the west of the village much worn with a date 1184 A.D. (Saka 1106)."

Recently during my search for antiquities in this village, I came across another inscription in the heart of the village which from its contents seems to be a different inscription from the one mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.

The object of this note is to describe the contents of the inscription I have found.

The inscription appears to be a part of a large one which is now shattered to pieces. The inscribed piece of it at present recovered is triangular in shape about 11 inches broad and 8 inches high with portions of ten lines inscribed on it. Even though in damaged condition of the record nothing could be known about the purpose of the donation recorded by the inscription, or the name of its donor which is only partly preserved, in view of the clear mention of the date, it is proposed to deal with it here.

As noticed above the record consists of ten lines which are fragmentary. The first line cannot be deciphered completely as only the lower ends of some letters are preserved. The name and the titles of the donor appear between lines 5 and 7 which read as follows :

- (5) समाधिगताशेष पंचमहाश (ब्द)
- (6) [इ]*त्यादि समस्त राजावली विरा[ज]*
- (7) [अपरादि]* त्यदेव कल्याणविजय रा[ज्ये]*

From the date of the record, from the provenance of the inscription, the general tenor and the titles occurring therein, this inscription appears to have been inscribed under a Silahara ruler whose name ended with 'tya.' This is probable because the Silahara dynasty is the only one known to have ruled over the Thana district during the period and several records of the same have been found in the vicinity of Lonad itself.

Now among the Silāhāras there were two kings whose names ended in 'tya' viz., Aparāditya I, also known as Aparārka, and Aparāditya II.

¹ Burgess, A. S. W. I., V, p. 54 writes that it could not be determined whether the cave was a Saiva or a Vaishnava. In my examination however I found a figure of Ganeśa carved in low relief on one of the pillars in the cave. This makes its Saiva character more probable.

² *Epi. Ind.*, III, pp. 267 ff.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 20 and Vol. XIV, p. 212. For another Silāhāra land grant lying at Chaudhārapādā, 1 mile to west of Lonad see Silver Jubilee Number, *Annals B. O. R. I.*, XXIII, pp. 98-102.

Aparāditya I, is known from his three inscriptions, namely the Vadavalli Plates,⁴ the Cintra⁵ and the Chanje⁶ stone inscriptions, which are dated in Śaka 1049, 1059 and 1060 respectively.

Of Aparāditya II, we have at least a couple of inscriptions, only three of which dated in Śaka 1106, 1107 and 1109 are published,⁷ though some others are also known.⁸

To which of the two Aparādityas the present inscription belongs will be shown with reference to the date of the inscription.

The date of the inscription is like the name of the ruler, only partly preserved. It however gives some details which taken together with the name of the King give us some clues from which some inferences could be drawn. Lines 3-4 record this date as follows :

(3) [स]* हब्रेसुसप्तं (त्रिं) शधिकेषु यत्रांक (तः or तो पि)

(4) चैत्र शुद्ध प्रतिपत्येतमस्मि.....

We do not know what word preceded 'Sahasra' but in view of the fact that the name of the King is recorded in the latter part which we have shown to be Aparāditya, the date must be either Śaka 1037 or 1137 and even 1237. But the last two dates seem to be inadmissible because we know from history that some other rulers of the Śilāhāra and Yādava dynasties were ruling over the Thana district in the respective periods. In Śaka 1125, Thana district was already in the hands of Śilāhāra Keśideva, if the date of his unpublished Māndvi inscription⁹ is to be accepted as correct and who again seems to have ruled for a considerable length of time at least till Śaka 1162 as shown by the Chaudharapada inscription.¹⁰

The date could neither be Śaka 1237 as in this period Konkan was under Rāmachandra-deva, the Yādava King of Devgiri, who had entrusted its administration to his Governor Jāideva.¹¹ Even though it is a fact that the Yādava and the Śilāhāra inscriptions have much in common as regards the draft of the grants, this present inscription cannot be said as belonging to any Yādava ruler in view of the name ending in 'tya' not found in the names of the Yādava dynasty.

The date Śaka 937 is also inadmissible because we know that in this year Śilāhāra Arikesari was governing North Konkan as indicated by his Thana Plates.¹²

All these considerations compel us to equate this date with Śaka 1037. The English equivalent for the date Caitra Śuddha Pratipadā in this year would be Saturday¹³ 27th February A.D. 1115, the grant being obviously made on the first day of the new year according to the Hindu Calendar.

This date would fit in with the period of Śilāhāra Aparāditya I. As we know from his Vadavalli Plates,¹⁴ he was the son of Anantapāla whose latest date known is Śaka 1016 from the Khārepātan Plates.¹⁵ It was formerly supposed¹⁶ that there was a very long gap between the two rulers Anantapāla and Aparāditya I, but Dr. Altekar has conclusively proved¹⁷ that their genealogical succession remained un-interrupted.

⁴ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, p. 505 ff. ⁵ Festgabe Dr. Hermann Jacobi, p. 189 ff.

⁶ Epi. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 269. Inscription A.

⁷ These are his Veharali Ins., (Śaka 1106), Journal of Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXIX, pp. 210-215. Prince of Wales Museum Inscription (Śaka 1107). Epi. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 277, Ins. D. and Parel stone inscription (Śaka 1109) J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XII, p. 333 ff.

⁸ The unpublished inscriptions of Aparāditya II are

(1) Lonad Inscription (Śaka 1106); Bom. Gaz. I, ii, p. 20, present whereabouts not known.

(2) Two Prince of Wales Museum Ins. (dates unknown) referred to in Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 20; and Ind. Cult., Vol. II, pp. 430.

(3) Kalamdhon Insc. (Śaka 1109) referred to in Bom. Gaz., XIV, p. 112.

(4) Mānikpur Inscription (Śaka 1109) referred to in Bom. Gaz., XIV, p. 387.

⁹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 20 foot note 2.

¹⁰ Annals B.O.R.I., XXIII, pp. 98-102.

¹¹ Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, p. 357 ff.

¹² J.B.B.R.A.S., XXI, p. 505 ff.

¹³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part ii, p. 544.

¹⁴ Epi. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 282.

¹⁵ Pillai, Indian Ephemeris, III, p. 232.

¹⁶ Ind. Ant., IX, p. 33 ff.

¹⁷ Indian Culture, II, p. 411.

The new date furnished by the present fragment takes back the reign of Aparāditya I, by about 12 years from the Vadavalli Plates which was hitherto his earliest dated record.

The text of the inscription is given here from an inked estampage prepared by me.

TEXT¹⁸

- 1 च वि—
 2 पा पूजा— धर्मपरायणः । प्र¹⁹
 3 टके । स्वस्ति जयश्चाभ्युदयश्च [।]*—
 4 [सह]*खे सुसप्ततुं (त्रि) शधिकेषु यत्रांक²⁰
 5 (ण ?) चैत्र शुद्धप्रतिपत्येतमस्मि (न्काले)²¹
 6 [अद्ये]*ह समधिगताशेषपंचमहाश (वद)
 7 [इ]*त्यादि समस्तराजावली विरा[ज]*
 8 [अपरादि]*त्य²² देव कल्याणविजयरा[ज्ये]*
 9 [ल]*(क्षम)णनायके²³ स्वीक[रणे]
 10 पाटी²⁴ क

¹⁸ From the original stone and inked estampages.

¹⁹ This letter is not quite clear to me.

²⁰ Restore Yatrāṅkataḥ or Yatrāṅkatōpi.

²¹ The first akshara looks like *nśa*.

²² The form of letter 'TYA' in lines 5 and 7 leaves no doubt about the certainty of our reading.

²³ Mention of Lakshmana Nayaka does not much help us in determining the donor of the inscription. Inscriptions of Aparāditya I record different names of his ministers viz., Lakshmana Nāyak, Māli Khetaya Thākura, and Soḍhadeva Nāyaka. In the Chanje Inscription of Aparāditya II, the name of his minister appears as Lakshmana Nayaka, while his Parel and Lonad inscriptions give it as Vyomaśiva (Vi Śambhu). The mention of Lakshmana Nāyaka in the Vadavalli Plates issued twelve years after the present record may favour our identification with Aparāditya I.

²⁴ Could this be a part of the word 'Prathama' 'Dvitiya'—schhepāti which often preceded the name of some officials in Silāhāra inscriptions? cf. Vadavalli Plates, Cintra and Chanje Inscription of Aparāditya I, *JBBRAS*, XXI, p. 505 ff, *Festgabe Dr. Hermann Jacobi*, p. 198 ff. and *Epi. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 269, as also *JBBRAS* IX., p. 219, and XII, p. 329 ff, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 33, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 274, 280.

In the unpublished Mānikpur Inscription of Silāhāra Aparāditya reference is made to four such officers instead of the usual three designated in a similar manner. I quote from an estampage of the original stone, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

A NEW COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE VALABHI KINGDOM

By Prof. HARIPRASAD SHASTRI

It was in last June that Mr. Sarabhai Nawab brought an unpublished grant procured by him from Pālītānā, to the Research Department of the Gujarat Vernacular Society and wanted to have a general idea of its contents. I thank him for making the grant accessible to me and allowing me to note down its contents.

The grant consists of two plates of copper. There are fourteen lines written on each plate. The script, language and style of the grant quite resemble those of the early grants of the Valabhī kingdom.

The grant was issued from Valabhī, the capital of the Valabhī kingdom. Among the Maitrakas sprang Senāpati Bhaṭṭakka (l. 4); he was succeeded by his son Senāpati Dharasena I (l. 6); the next ruler was his younger brother Mahārāja Droṇasirīha (l. 9); he was succeeded by his younger brother Mahārāja Dhurvasena I (l. 12). He is the donor of this grant. He was a great devotee of Viṣṇu (Parama-bhāgavata) and showed allegiance to some Great Lord (Parama-bhaṭṭāraka). This 'Great Lord' must have been either the same 'Great Lord' that attended Droṇasirīha's coronation or his successor.

The object of donation consisted of (i) a kṣetra measuring a hundred pādāvartas and (ii) a vāpi measuring twelve pādāvartas (l. 15). The land was situated in the south-west of Akṣasaraka maṇḍali in the Hastavapra āharaṇi (l. 14).

The donees of the grant were three Brāhmaṇas residing at Akoṭṭaka. They belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and studied the Vājasaneyya branch of the white Yajurveda (l. 17). The names of the Brāhmaṇas were not fully legible to me, owing to the layers of rust covering the concluding portion of l. 16.

The grant quotes three verses from Vyāsa, viz. (1) Śaṣṭhirī varṣa-sahasrāṇi (l. 25), (ii) Bahubhīrvvasuddhā bhuktā (l. 26) and (iii) Vindhyātaviṣvatoyāsu (l. 27).

The king's autograph contains his name Dhruvasena and his title Mahārāja. The Dūtaka of the grant is Pratiḥāra Mammaka. The grant was drafted by Kikkaka. It is dated 'Saṁ. 207 Kārttika śu.3'.

The grant mentions four place-names in all. Of these Valabhī and Hastavapra are identified with modern Valā (21° 52'N, 71° 53'E) and Hāthab (21° 36'N, 72° 16'E) respectively. The Hastavapra āharaṇi was an important division of Surāṣṭra in the Valabhī period. Akṣasaraka is mentioned also in three other grants, viz. Nos. 1295, 1296 and 1300 of Bhandarkar's list. However, it has not been possible to identify this place. It is only in this grant that we come across the term maṇḍali which seems to be a small unit of administration, since the land is located directly in the Akṣasaraka maṇḍali. Akoṭṭaka is known to us from this grant only. It is possibly represented by modern Ākaḍiā near Dhasā, lying about 20 miles to the west of Valā.

The date of the grant is not important. It was issued only four days earlier than the Bhāvnagar grant dated 'Kārttika s'u 7' of the same year.² Moreover, two grants³ issued by the same king are dated still a year earlier, i.e., Saṁ 206. According to the epoch of 318-19 A.D., the date of this grant corresponds to 525 A.D.

¹ Mr. Diskalkar read 'Sopakendrakamaṇḍalyām' in No. 1308 of Bhandarkar's list. But I have found it to be a mere mis-reading for 'Sodakena lammaṇḍalunā.' Hence Akṣasaraka maṇḍali is the only maṇḍali known from the Valabhī-grants.

² No. 1297 of Bhandarkar's List.

³ Nos. 1293 and 1294 of Bhandarkar's list.

THE CIRCULATION OF GORAKHPURI PAISA AND MADHUSAHI PAISA IN BIHAR IN A.D. 1811—1812

By Prof. P. K. CODE.

In his Editorial Note on my article on "*The Dhabbuka Coin*" (Vide pp. 59-61 of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, June 1944) Dr. Altekar notes some information about the *Dhabbu* coin from which the following points may be noted here :—

- (1) The term *Dhabbu* is in extensive use in the U. P. and Bihar, besides Mahārāshtra.¹
- (2) In these provinces the term denotes "uncoined and unstamped copper pieces that were in extensive use till about the beginning of the present century."
- (3) It was a private copper currency without stamp, bust or inscription.
- (4) Its shape was not uniform and its weight was usually *one tola* that is double the weight of the British Government *pice*.
- (4) It was called *Gorakhpuri paisa* in the U. P. as it was in extensive use in the Gorakhpur division.
- (5) There are two specimens of *Dhabbu* in the cabinet of the Benares Hindu University.
- (6) In the Balia district it was known as *Madhushāhi paisa* probably after the name of the banker who once upon a time supplied this currency to the market. The coin was always a copper piece.
- (7) During the 18th Century in Marwar larger copper pieces, equal in value to half an anna were known as *Dhabbu Shāhi* on account of their heavy weight (Vide pp. 47-48 of Webb's *Currencies of the Hindu States in Rajputana*).
- (8) In the 19th Century the British Government extensively issued only the *copper pice* but private agencies supplied the popular needs by issuing unstamped copper pieces weighing double the Govt. pice. Later on the *Dhabbus* were officially banned but they still remained current for some time.²

¹ Mr. N. G. Chapekar records some valuable information about *currency* during the Peshwa period in his book *Peśvāice Sāvlit* (पेशवाईचे सावलीत) 1937, Poona, pp 26-38. There is no reference to the "*Dhabbū*" coin in this information. The variety of coins current during the Maratha period is clearly indicated by the following names recorded by Mr. Chapekar :— रहिमतपुरी, मलकापुरी, चांदवड, मिरजी, आरकट, चिंचवड, हुकेरी, बागलकोटी, गजापुरी, तळेगांवी, भडोची, सुरती, पन्हाळी, चतरसिंगी, नीलकंठी, सारोली, बहुती, आरकट, गंजीकोट, आरकट फुलचरी, दौलताबादी, बेलापुरी, बडोदी, भातवडी, इशव, बावडी, पनाळी, अंकुशी, एकबुंदकी, त्रिशुळी, फरशी, नागाचे, तुन्गाचे, पंचमेल, मिटे, पोतेचाल, वसईचाल, (चांदवड), कल्याणचाल, (मिटे) वाई शिक्का, हाली शिक्का, कासी शिक्का, सिप्रि शिक्का, साहु शिक्का, दिव्ली शिक्का, अटीचे, भुंढे, अलमगिरी, मल्हारशाही महमदशाही, पेठचलनी, बाजारचलनी, कोंकणचलनी, (चिंचवड), सरकार चलनी (तुन्गाचे), दाणे चलनी, पुणे चलनी, हापीस चलनी.

The Peshwas had started their own mints. Under पोटनाणी (p. 37) Mr. Chapekar refers to पैसा, पावल्या, and अथेल्या. He also refers to a *coin worth 2 paysas*, $\frac{1}{2}$ Paysa, and $\frac{1}{4}$ Paysa. (See also article on RUPÉE in *Hobson-Jobson*, 1903, p. 776. The *Sicca* was abolished as a coin by Act XIII of 1836).

² Vide article on *Pice* in *Hobson-Jobson*, London, 1903, pp. 703-704—By Act XXIII of 1870 (cl. 8) the following *copper*-coins are current :— (1) *Double Pice* or Half Anna, (2) *Pice* or $\frac{1}{4}$ anna, (3) *Half-pice* or $\frac{1}{8}$ anna, (4) *Pie* or $\frac{1}{12}$ anna. No. 2 is the only one in very common use. As with most other coins, weights and measures, there used to be *pukka* pice and *chitcha* pice. The distinction was some times between the regularly minted copper of the Government and certain *amorphous pieces of copper* which did duty for small change

I am concerned in this paper with the regional history of the *Dhabbū* coin. In this connection the following equation based on Dr. Altekar's remarks will show the different terms by which the *Dhabbū* coin was known in the different regions of India :—

<i>Dhabbuka</i>	= <i>Madhu Shāhi Paisa</i>	= <i>Gorakhpuri Paisa</i>
(c. 1575—1630 at Benares)	(Balía District)	(U. P.—Gorakhpur Division)
= <i>Dhabbū Shāhi</i>	= <i>Dhābuās</i>	= <i>Dhabbū</i>
(of Marwar—18th century)	(Bengal)	(Mahārāṣṭra)

The above equation raises the question : When did the terms (1) *Madhushāhi Paisa* and (2) *Gorakhpuri Paisa* originate. As Dr. Altekar has not recorded any documentary evidence on this question, I note below some evidence of A.D. 1811 which has a direct bearing on the history of these two terms, *Madhushāhi* and *Gorakhpuri* :—

Francis Buchanan in his *Patna-Gaya Report* (A.D. 1811—12) published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Vol. II, pp. 700—703) makes some remarks on "Coins, Weights and Measures" current in Bihar at the time of his survey. Speaking of *Copper Currency* he observes :—

"Cowries are scarcely current, and the only small money in common use consists of Copper *Paysas* of which 56 most usually pass for a rupee. In *Patna* the Company's new *Paysas* with a decent legend, is almost alone in use ; but in the country a good many of the rude masses called *Gorakhpuri Paysas* are still in circulation. At *Gaya* the *Madhusahis* are pretty common. The Government lately sent up *Paysas* to the value of 40,000 rupees, and distributed them at the mint price of 64 for the rupee, for which I know no good reason, as even this great influx lowered the exchange to only 58 for the rupee and the fair at Hajipur will probably reduce them to 54 ; so that the persons, who took them from the collector, for two months' interest will have above 15½ per cent. This fair and the two months of marriage ceremony usually raise the price of the copper about 4 per cent. There is as great a want felt from the size of the copper, as from that of the Silver coin and half and quarter *paysas* would be a great advantage. Most things of little value, here as well as in Bhagalpur, are sold by an imaginary money called *Taka* which is here reckoned equal to two *Paysas*. There are also imaginary monies called *Chadam* and *Damri* ; the former is equal to 1 *Paysa* or 25 *cowries*, the latter is equal to one-eighth of a *Paysa*."

Speaking of the use of coins as weights Buchanan states :—

"In general the Calcutta Sicca weight is considered as the standard, but the Kuldar rupee is taken as the means of ascertaining this, which it does not exactly do, being a trifle less. In other places the *Madhusahi Paisa* is considered the standard, although except at *Gaya* etc. is seldom procurable."

It is clear from the above extracts of A.D. 1811 that the *Gorakhpuri Paisā* and the *Madhusāhi Paisā* were current in Bihar at the time in spite of the attempt of the officers of the then Government to put the Company's new *Paisās* in circulation. Buchanan states that the Company's *Paisās* were almost alone in use to Patna but in the country rude masses called *Gorakhpuri Paisās* were in circulation. In this connection I reproduce below a letter dated 29th May 1945 from my friend Capt. Sir H. S. Rankin, Bart., Lucknow :—

"Your pamphlets delighted me, especially your pamphlet on the *Dhabbuka* coin. [We have a slang term in common use in England, "*The dibs*" i.e. money] In Dr. Altekar's note accompanying your paper he says :—the coin *Dhabbū* "was most extensively used in the Gorakhpur division . . . in U. P." Here I beg to state that the correct verb is "ARE STILL" in extensive use as the *Gorakhpuri Paisā* in U. P. in 1944. It circulates in Gorakhpur District and as far as Pharenda Bazar (on the Nantwana Branch Line). I was handed two of these (exactly of the same type as described by Dr. Altekar in his Note. They

(e.g. in the N. W. Provinces within memory) or between single and double piece, i.e., ½ anna pieces and ¼ anna pieces. (See article on *Pie*). Usages of "*Pice*" and its phonetic variations recorded here are dated A.D. 1590 (*Paisah*), 1614 (*Pize*), 1615 (*Pice*), 1616 (*Pices*), 1663 (*Peca*), 1673 (*Pice*), 1676 (*Pecha*), 1689 (*Pice*), 1726 (*Peys*), 1768 (*Pice*), c. 1816 (*Pucker pice*). [See also article on DAM (p. 293-294—*Ain-i-Akbari* states that at first the dam was called *Paisah* and also *Bahloli*).

seemed of *pure copper*. I consider the weight *one tola*. Two of these unstamped uncoined copper pieces were handed to me in that area (in 1944) in place of ½ anna as change. I still have them in my possession."

The above remarks of Sir Rankin may interest Dr. Altekar and hence I have reproduced them in this paper as desired by Sir Rankin.

After reading my paper, another friend of mine Sir C. D. Deshmukh, Kt., Governor, Reserve Bank of India, Bombay, sent his representative to the Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and made inquiries there about the subject of my paper. The Assistant to this Curator told this representative as follows :—

"*Dhabuka* is a general term for thick copper coins issued by various Rulers and of various periods. Similarly "*Madhusahi Paisa*" is a general term for a copper *paisa* issued by various Rulers of native States in northern India. In States like Gwalior or Jaipur for instance different *Madhusahi* Paisas were current."³

The foregoing remarks need to be verified and proved on documentary and numismatic evidence with a view to clarify our knowledge about the genesis and history of the *Gorakhpuri Paisā* and *Madhusāhi* or *Mādhavsāhi Paisā*.

I don't claim to be a numismatist but I am interested in the literary sources for numismatic data, which still await exploration as my friends in this field assure me.⁴ We must study the history of each numismatic term and record its usages century by century. Such a study would be useful both for numismatics and historical linguistics.

³ I have to record here my grateful thanks to Sir C. D. Deshmukh and Sir H. S. Rankin for their kind interest in the subject of the "*Dhabbuka*" coin and its history and the troubles taken by them in communicating their remarks to me promptly. Sir Deshmukh writes to me that there is a collection of old coins in the Bombay Mint containing some old copper and gold coins for sale.

⁴ Dr. A. S. Altekar states in his letter to me dated 19-5-1945 "*Madhusahi Paisa* was reported to me by an old Saraf from Mirzapur district. It has no literary reference".

Dr. V. S. Agrawala writes to me on 12-6-1945 :—"You have brought together valuable material on the *Dhabbuka* coins. Sanskrit literary sources for numismatic data must prove of great value if properly tapped on your lines."

RELIGIOUS CRIMES DURING THE REIGNS OF SHAH JAHAN AND AURANGZEB

By Prof. S. P. SANGAR

Akbar secularised the Muslim State and in doing so destroyed many of the religious crimes. Jahangir brought about some modifications in this system. Shah Jahan, however, introduced several changes making many acts criminal again. Aurangzeb tried to govern entirely according to the advice of the theologians and restored the entire Muslim Penal Code in the religious sphere. We shall deal with this subject under the following sub-heads :—

(1) Drinking and sale of liquors ; (2) Gambling with dice ; (3) Prostitution ; (4) Blasphemy ; (5) Heresy ; (6) Fallacious writings ; (7) Music, Muslim festivals, and fashions etc. ; (8) Conversions from Islam ; (9) Religious practices of the Hindus ; (10) Forbidden Hindu practices.

DRINKING AND SALE OF LIQUORS

Our evidence regarding the drinking and sale of liquor during the reign of Shah Jahan is meagre.

In the sixth year of his reign the emperor, Shah Jahan, issued an order prohibiting the sale, public or private, of wine. In the previous reign the law had confined itself only to public sales ; now it extended to private sales as well. The Christians, however, formed an exception as they retained the right of manufacturing drinks for their own use.

Islam condemns the use of wine. Any person transgressing the bounds of law incurs legal punishment. Aurangzeb was determined to rule as a true Muslim monarch. His main anxiety was to enforce the strict observance of the Muslim theological practices. With unflagging zeal he threw himself into the task and devised a number of laws to realize his dreams. His endeavours to make the country feel the iron rule of the Puritan monarch demanding the maintenance of strict discipline were not always crowned with success. His regulations prohibiting the use and sale of wine can in no way be called a success in spite of the provisions made to ensure their smooth working.

Ovington assures us that it was unlawful to indulge in strong liquors.² The manufacture of wine was not allowed, nor the use of drinks brought from Persia or any other place. Restraint was placed on the use and sale of beverages like bhang, toddy, and opium.³ The Christians, however, were allowed to prepare spirits for their own consumption. They could use strong drugs according to their religious practices. Aurangzeb ordered all Christians, with the exception of physicians and surgeons, to leave the imperial capital. They were to remove to a place at a distance of one league from the city. There they could prepare and drink wine, but they were not permitted to sell it.⁴

Aurangzeb was anxious to make his prohibition scheme a real success. For this he made several provisions. The first essential was the establishment of a special department. At the head of this department was placed the Chief Muhtasib. Under him there worked a large army of subordinate censors. These officials were to explain to the people the harm done by intoxicants. Force was to be used where arguments were of no avail. In that case the censors would break the pots and pans in which these beverages and liquor were found.⁵ They would be required to prohibit the sale of wine even in the camps of the mansabdars.⁶ The bazars where these mansabdars purchased spirits were to be abolished.⁷ To guard against the Christians selling wine sentinels were kept over them.⁸ By a royal command the provincial governors were required to render all possible assistance to the censors. Every kind of restraint was to be put on the public sale of intoxicants.⁹ Books, like the *Divan-i-Hafiz*, serving as incentives to the use of wine, were proscribed in the schools.

¹ Qazvini, 445 ; Cf. Religious Policy, 111. Manucci, I, 140 ; 265.

² Ovington, 140.

³ Tavernier, II, 249 ; Manucci, II, 7 ; Letters, No. 90 ; Aina-i-Gujrat, I, 149.

⁴ Religious Policy, 122 ; Manucci, II, 6.

⁵ Kazim, 391-92 ; Cf. Religious Policy, 121 ; Khafi Khan, II, 8 ; Manucci, II, 7 ; Aina-i-Gujrat, I, 148 ; 149 ; Masir-i-Alamgiri, 385.

⁶ Religious Policy, 122.

⁹ R. P. 122.

⁷ R. P. 122.

⁸ Manucci, II, 6.

All these precautions were not destined to guarantee success. Innumerable references to the infringement of these rules have come down to us. Manucci would have us believe that every man in the kingdom, with the honourable exception of Aurangzeb, was addicted to wine.¹⁰

A general of Shah Alam's cavalry, while the latter was in the province of Kabul, complained against the misbehaviour of a commander of 500 horse. The Prince was in a state of drunkenness as he had just finished off several bottles of the Kabul wine. In this condition he issued an order for the punishment of the said commander; but he had to repent later on.¹¹

Shah Alam's sons also were addicted to the vice. Once Manucci sent a bottle of wine to Sultan Muizz-ud-Din. A spy reported the whole affair to the emperor. The Prince extricated himself from the difficulty only on the plea that it was to be used as medicine for a sick lady.¹²

Like all other Princes, Sultan Mohammad A'azam also took wine secretly. The reports about his misbehaviour on such occasions reached the emperor who, out of affection for the Prince, usually overlooked them.¹³

The news-writer of the province of Gujarat informed the emperor that Mohammad Amin Khan, the governor of the province, held court while in his cups. The emperor considered it scandalous.¹⁴

Manucci informs us that the Muhatasib had to face practical difficulties while performing his duties. He could not enforce rigour while opposition came from the ministers themselves. They 'loved to be drunk.'¹⁵

The regulations of the Puritan monarch failed to exercise any check upon the officials. The Italian narrates the story of twelve officials who emptied cups of wine and enjoyed the company of women in the Dil-kusha garden at Lahore.¹⁶ Aurangzeb got enraged to learn that a reporter, Hidaya Keesh by name, had the temerity to adopt an insulting behaviour towards a deceased saint. He had gone to his tomb in a state of intoxication. He was ordered to be brought in chains in the emperor's presence.¹⁷ Complaints reached the emperor about the mansabdars who infringed the prohibition rules by the purchase and use of wine.¹⁸

Even the soldiers seem to have shown no regard for the regulations. Reports would sometime disturb the royal mind about a whole army exceeding the bounds of decency by indulging in wine.¹⁹

Aurangzeb was at one time upset to find a concubine of his in a state of drunkenness. She was so overpowered with drink that taking the emperor for a slave girl she asked for more wine.²⁰

We have seen that the Europeans were allowed the manufacture but not the sale of spirits. But they could not be scrupulous in the observance of the rules. They knew that it was easy for them to make money by supplying wine for those who could not do without it. For this they resorted to numberless expedients and sold it on the sly.²¹

Thus Aurangzeb had to fight against heavy odds in enforcing on the people stern rigidity of the Muslim law. It meant the waging of war on the human nature itself and even an Aurangzeb could not prove equal to the task.

The Muslim theoretical law awards no punishment on non-Muslims for drinking intoxicating liquors. No penalty was to be inflicted on a madman, a minor, an infidel, a zimmi or a person who had acted under compulsion.²² The practice differed under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. No community or sect was excluded from punishment, the Christians being an exception, though they could not indulge in the sale of liquors.

The penalty for drinking intoxicating liquors, according to the Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, was

¹⁰ Manucci, II, 5-8.

¹³ *Ibid.*,

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 463-64.

¹⁹ Khafi Khan, II, 220.

²² Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, II, 687; Malim-al-Qarba, 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III, 254.

¹⁴ Anecdotes, 120.

¹⁷ Letters, No. LXXI, 69-70.

²⁰ Manucci, II, 108.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 393-94.

¹⁵ Manucci, II, 7.

¹⁸ Religious Policy, 121-22.

²¹ Manucci, II, 6.

eighty stripes for a freeman and half the number for a slave.²³ The author of the *Ma'alim al-Qarba* fixed forty stripes as the punishment of a freeman and twenty for a slave.²⁴

The offence was not established until the accused had admitted it himself or two witnesses had borne testimony to it. A man was not to be punished if found drunk and the smell of fermented liquor came from him.²⁵ The qazi was to keep the offender under custody until his reliability was proved. Whips were to be distributed on different parts of the body.²⁶

The law provides no penalty for the sale of wine, though the Mughals did so. For the first offence a wine-seller was to be severely whipped. The repetition of the offence condemned him, after chastisement, to imprisonment till he repented²⁷. Severe whipping was to be inflicted on a distiller in the service of a wine-merchant and he was to be reprimanded.²⁸ An Armenian was 'chaubucked (horse whipped) through the city for selling of wine.'²⁹ The Christians frequently infringed the law and engaged in the sale of the prohibited spirits. But sad plight awaited an offender when his offence was established. The police would raid his house and put fetters on him. With the still hung round his neck and receiving constant shower of blows in the way he was to be brought before the kotwal. There a still worse fate was in store for him. He was to be hurled into prison and was not released, after the lapse of many months, before he had received a good deal of beating and paid a heavy fine.³⁰

Different types of punishments were inflicted on drunkards. A Rajput mansabdar who was accused of the vice received an order of transfer.³¹ Certain mansabdars were charged with the offence of purchasing wine from the Bazar-i-Mansabdaran. They were ordered to remove their tents to the neighbourhood of the imperial bazar.³²

Sometimes the mansabdars would be degraded when a charge was proved against them.³³

Aurangzeb got enraged at the door-keepers of the apartment of a concubine. They were guilty of allowing the wine to pass into her room. He ordered them to be bastinadoed.³⁴

Prince A'zam, when charged at a time with drinking wine, was locked up and remained in prison for a year.³⁵

GAMBLING WITH DICE

Aurangzeb ordered that if after proper inquiries, a charge of gambling was proved against a man, he was to be chastised. In case he took to it as a profession he was, after proper chastisement, to be imprisoned till he repented. If he repeated the crime he was to remain in prison for his life. The property thus won was to be restored to the owner or kept in the trust.³⁶

The emperor was aggrieved to learn that the son of the superintendent of the palace of Muhammad A'zam took to gambling. The Prince was reprimanded for showing indifference and carelessness. The emperor ordered him to appoint news-writers to give correct information.³⁷

PROSTITUTION

Prostitutes and dancing girls were ordered either to marry or leave the empire.³⁸ In 1665, Aurangzeb issued orders for the suppression of prostitution.³⁹ These orders do not seem to have served their purpose as in 1679 Ovington found in Surat a large number of prostitutes and dancing girls.⁴⁰

²³ *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, II, 687. ²⁴ *Malim-al-Qarba*, 11.

²⁵ *Ma'alim-AL-Qarba*, 12 ; *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, II, 688.

²⁶ *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, II, 688.

²⁷ *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 169-70 ; Cf. *Mughal Administration*, 127.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 170 ; Cf. *Mughal Administration*, 127.

²⁹ Tavernier, I, 244. ³⁰ Manucci, II, 6.

³¹ Khafi Khan, II, 6.

³² *Religious Policy*, 122 (*Newsletter*, Feb. 28, 1703).

³³ *Ibid.*, May 6, 1702. Cf. *Religious Policy*, 121.

³⁴ Manucci, II, 108.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 393-94.

³⁶ *Aina-i-Gujarat*, 169. Cf. *Religious Policy*, 124 ; *Mughal Administration*, 127.

³⁷ Letters, 33.

³⁸ Azmi, 196 ; Cf. R. P. 123 ; Manucci, II, 9.

³⁹ Orme, Notes, 85, Cf. R. P. 123 ; *Aina-i-Gujrat*, I, 156 ; Masir, 385.

⁴⁰ Ovington, 153.

BLASPHEMY

According to Islamic law blasphemy is also a crime. A charge of having used disrespectful language towards the Quran was levelled against a Hindu who had to lose his head in punishment.⁴¹ Similarly, the utterance of abusive words towards the Prophet cost another Hindu his life.⁴²

The above two cases occurred in the reign of Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb who was more orthodox than his father followed the practice with enhanced rigidity. Different kinds of penalty could be inflicted for levelling curses on the founder of Islam or the Muslim religion. Even death punishment could be pronounced against the offender.⁴³ It was easy, on certain occasions, for some bold spirits to unscrupulously and falsely accuse a man to gain selfish interests. We are told that a Muslim could easily refuse to pay back his debts to a Bania. The former could threaten to charge the latter with blasphemy if he persisted in his demands. The mere thought of the consequences would send a shudder through the poor fellow who would prefer to keep silence and forgo his demands. He knew well what his persistence was to cost him. He was to be taken to the qazi for the alleged curses on the Prophet and Islam. There he would be forced to 'circumcision and made a Moore.'⁴⁴

An Englishman, Thomas Gudellet, had taken to wife an Indian woman of evil life. One day, returning home, he found her, to his utter chagrin, closeted with a Muslim servant. Unable to control his anger he rushed to find some weapon. Suddenly that woman set up a tremendous noise and gave out that her husband was in his cups and wanted to murder her and had heaped curses on the Prophet. This spelt misfortune for the poor fellow. He received a good thrashing at the hands of the neighbours and the passers by. Even his servants turned against him. The Englishman was taken to the magistrate and accused of having insulted Mohammad. There he had to suffer many affronts. A serious punishment awaited him. It cost Manucci considerable labour and money to get him released.⁴⁵

Husain Malik, a Shia, earned death punishment for using disrespectful language towards the Prophet's Companions.⁴⁶

Divan Muhammad Tahir was beheaded for uttering abusive words towards the first three Caliphs.⁴⁷

Ali Sirhindi was addicted to wine. When asked to abandon the habit he gave out that he stood on an equal footing with the angels as they were also guilty. This disrespectful language cost him his life.⁴⁸

A young man, the son of a learned man of Sialkot, forsook his father's house and took the garb of an ascetic to preach the gospel of Christ. 'He made attack on the Quran, as if already vexed with life and longing to sacrifice himself. He soon obtained his desires.' Reaching Ahmadabad in the year 1699 he engaged in disputation with the qazi of the place. He extolled the gospels and decried what the Prophet had enjoined. At this the qazi became furious and gave the young man a thorough beating. This, however, could not force him into disavowal. He was dragged into the prison where he lived for forty days. Every day questions were put to him followed by bright promises and honeyed words. Adamant as he remained thrashing was administered to him almost daily. In the end he was beheaded.⁴⁹

HERESY

Heresy was also considered a crime. A man charged with the offence could be executed or merit some milder punishment. During Shah Jahan's reign, when Aurangzeb was the viceroy of Gujrat, one Raju, a sayyid, was accused of giving expression to heretical views. He was ordered to be expelled from Ahmedabad. Officers were sent to hasten his departure. He, however, offered them opposition and was subsequently killed.⁵⁰

⁴¹ Quazvini, Cf. R. P. 111.

⁴² Adab-i-Alamgiri, Cf. R. P. 111.

⁴³ Manucci, II, 409.

⁴⁴ English Factories, 1665-67, 284.

⁴⁵ Manucci, III, 217.

⁴⁶ Tarikh-i-Kashmir, 165; Cf. Religious Policy, 126.

⁴⁷ Masir-i-Alamgiri, 120; Cf. Religious Policy, 127.

⁴⁸ Tarikh-i-Kashmir, 166; Cf. Religious Policy, 127.

⁴⁹ Aina-i-Gujrat, I, 132-33.

⁵⁰ Manucci, IV, 120-21.

A person who instigated others to innovations in religion was an enemy of orthodox Islam. Aurangzeb could not tolerate such persons. He issued a decree that if through the teachings of such a man there was the possibility of the spread of heresy, he was to suffer capital punishment.⁵¹

Dara, in reality the political opponent of Aurangzeb, was executed under the excuse that he held heretical views. He was sentenced to death for being inclined towards the religion and institutions of the Hindus. He preferred the society of the Hindu Learned men and the Hindu mendicants. He considered the Vedas as the revealed books. Dara's translating the Upanishads was also considered an act of heresy. He was accused of adopting the Hindu epithet for God, i.e. Prabhu. Lastly, he had abandoned the religious obligations such as prayers and fastings imposed by Islam.⁵²

Aurangzeb was beside himself with anger when it was reported to him that Prince 'Azim-us-Shah followed certain practices of the Hindus. He was punished with diminution of mansab.⁵³

The emperor was deadly opposed to false pretenders in religious knowledge. He would at once issue orders to take harsh measures against such persons. An illiterate dervish spoke against charity. The emperor who was a strict believer in charity according to the tenets of the religion was naturally taken aback. He wrote to Asad Khan to demand from the Fakir an explanation of his views. He was to receive the punishment due to a heretic in case he failed to answer properly.⁵⁴

A Fakir claimed himself to be God. For this he was beheaded in 1694.⁵⁵

Sarmad, the famous Sufi dervish, who had commanded the respect of Dara was asked through the chief qazi the reason of his nudity. His answer offended the qazi. He was ordered to present himself at the royal court and repeat the whole of the Muslim creed. The Mulladom was enraged to hear from his lips that there was no God. He declared that beyond that he knew nothing. For this he was condemned to death and he died as a martyr.⁵⁶

FALLACIOUS WRITINGS

To indulge in any sort of fallacious writing was considered a crime. Qazi Mir, who had been the chief minister and chancellor of Shah 'Alam, had achieved a high renown for his learning. He composed a book with Christian tendencies. None except Aurangzeb took any objection to it. The chief qazi refused to obey the emperor in pronouncing death sentence on him. His book, however, was burnt and he was sent to the fortress of Asirgarh as a prisoner. He would not disavow what he had written, disregarding the repeated attempts of the emperor. At last orders were given for his life to be taken. Another young man was executed for a similar offence.⁵⁷

MUSIC, MUSLIM FESTIVALS AND FASHIONS, ETC

Aurangzeb's orthodoxy allowed him no rest until he had seen the establishment of the Muslim way of life. His predecessors had realised the practical difficulties in the way of the stern enforcement of the Muslim theological practices. But the Puritan Aurangzeb brushed aside all such scruples and resolved to sweep all impediments that stood in his way. His regulations were not meant for the members of his own community alone. Specific laws, concerning the Hindus as well, issued forth from the royal pen.

Musicians could not help attracting his attention. An official was appointed to stop music. The law-breakers were to be put under arrest and the instruments to be broken.⁵⁸

Aurangzeb, moreover, issued orders for the discontinuance of music on the Prophet's birthday as well.⁵⁹ Shaikh Yahya Chishti, a famous Ahmadabad saint, took objection to this order and defied the attempts of the censor to enforce the regulation. He was left alone by the emperor's orders.⁶⁰ The hereditary singers of Kashmir showed their skill in singing

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 170.

⁵² Elliot, VII, 179; 246.

⁵³ Riaz-ul-Salatin, 243-44.

⁵⁴ Letters, No. CVII, 106-7.

⁵⁵ Religious Policy, 126.

⁵⁶ Religious Policy, 127-8; Bernier, II, 23-24.

⁵⁸ Manucci, II, 8.

⁵⁷ Manucci, IV, 318-21.

⁵⁹ Mirat-i-Ahmdai, Supplement, English translation, 70. Cited in Religious Policy, 124.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

while presenting welcome address to the new high officials. We hear Aurangzeb giving order for the suppression of the practice towards the closing years of the reign.⁶¹

Clay representations of animals and birds used to be sold on annual festivals and marriage occasions. The emperor stopped this for the future.⁶²

Men and women of a city used to assemble on the tombs of the saints on Thursday nights and on other festive occasions. The emperor put a stop to such gatherings.⁶³

The celebration of the Muharram was stopped in 1669.⁶⁴ The governor of Ahmadabad, disregardful of the regulation, indulged in August, 1700, in the celebration of the festival. As a penalty for this he was degraded in his mansab.⁶⁵ We hear of the degradation in this connection of two more mansabdars about the same time.⁶⁶

The fashions of the day and the religious practices of the Muslims engaged his attention next. The length of the beard a Muslim could wear was not to exceed four fingers. Any infringement of the rule was to be punished with the docking of the extra length. It must have been an amusing spectacle to see an official in the street, accompanied by his attendants and soldiers, with scissors in their hands.⁶⁷

In the twelfth year came the order forbidding the use of the garments of cloth of gold.⁶⁸

CONVERSIONS FROM ISLAM.

It is wrong to surmise that the Hindus, during the Mughal period, made no converts to their religion from Islam or Christianity. On the other hand, we learn that their proselytising activities were only less marked than those of the Muslims. Akbar could find no objection to this. Jahangir failed to provide any check. But Shah Jahan was made of an altogether different stuff, while Aurangzeb's sense of orthodoxy surpassed all belief. So the Hindus could be diverted from their proselytising campaign only on pain of severe penalties. Aurangzeb was prepared to go any length to suppress all anti-Islamic activities in this connection.

Shah Jahan was touched to the quick to discover the practice of marriages of Hindu youths with Muslim girls in certain parts of the empire. These girls were converted to Hinduism and cremated at their death according to Hindu rites. At once an order was issued to stop the practice. Such marriages were declared unlawful; the converted girls were to be taken away from their husbands. Fines were imposed on the latter. Escape from the payment of fine lay in their acceptance of Islam. Full force was allowed to be used in the suppression of this practice.⁶⁸

The knowledge that these measures could not achieve full success excited his anger. The case of Dalpat requires particular mention. This Hindu enthusiast came from Sirhind and became a thorn in the emperor's flesh for his religious zeal. He accepted as wife Zinab, a Muslim girl, converted her and renamed her Ganga. Their children were brought up as Hindus. He had, moreover, brought into the Hindu fold six Muslim boys and six Muslim girls. The emperor felt compelled to take harsh measures, and intended to inflict an exemplary punishment on him. Orders were issued to seize from Dalpat his wife and children. He was offered a choice between the acceptance of Islam and death. Dalpat would prefer to march into the category of martyrs. So he was put to death with all show of cruelty.⁶⁹

The practice of making the prisoners of war into slaves was stopped by Akbar. It was revived. Shah Jahan was conscious of the fact that the Hindus could buy such slaves and probably convert them to their religion. So it seemed necessary to adopt measures to stop the practice. It was made unlawful for the Hindus to buy Muslim prisoners of war. The Hindu soldiers were ordered not to enslave Muslims.⁷⁰

One reason for Shah Jahan's attack on the Portugese of Hugli was that they made converts from Hindus and Muslims.⁷¹

⁶¹ Religious Policy, 125.

⁶² Aina-i-Gujrat, I, 155.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, I, 156.

⁶⁴ Khafi Khan, II, 213-14.

⁶⁵ Religious Policy, 127.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁶⁷ Mapucci, II, 7.

⁶⁸ Masir-i-Alamgiri, 79. Cf. Religious Policy, 125.

⁶⁹ Qazvini, 444-45; 562; Lahauri, I, II, 57-58; Salih, II, 64, cited in Religious Policy,

105-6.

⁷⁰ Salih, II, 246-47; Lahauri, I, II, 57; Qazvini, 562. Cited in Religious Policy, 106.

⁷¹ Qazvini 405; Cf. Religious Policy, 107.

⁷¹ Elliot, VII, 31-35; 211; 212.

Aurangzeb would not allow any Muslim to change his religion. A Portugese who had been converted to Islam wanted to return to his faith. He expressed his wish to the qazi of Aurangabad who kept him in prison and held out various promises and threats. He spoke against Islam for which crime he received a thrashing. Aurangzeb, on finding that the Portuguese was determined in his resolve, ordered him to be put to death publicly.⁷²

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES OF THE HINDUS

Akbar allowed the Hindus liberty to enjoy their religious practices. He was quite scrupulous in the observance of this regulation. Jahangir and Shah Jahan followed Akbar in this respect. Pelsaert would have us believe that Jahangir was always anxious to please the Hindus and 'would not allow his subjects to kill the animals prohibited by the Hindu religion.'⁷³ The same practice was maintained by Shah Jahan. Manrique relates the story of the killing of two peacocks by a Muslim who was one of the party which was travelling from Bengal to the imperial court. The inhabitants of the nearby village were roused to fury at such a sacrilege. Finding themselves unable to wreak vengeance on the offenders they petitioned the Judge or kotwal of the city of Narangor.

At the dead of night twelve soldiers raided the serai where the travellers were enjoying sound sleep. With their hands and feet tied they were led to an underground dungeon. After a harsh confinement of twenty-four hours they were led in the morning to the court where the judge with his tribunal was waiting for them. The judge addressed himself to the culprit, a Bengali Muslim, and reprimanded him for the infringement of the Hindu religious practices in a predominantly Hindu locality. Manrique appealed to the religious fanaticism of the quazi who need not have shown any scruple towards 'the ridiculous precepts of the Hindus.' The judge explained to the Portuguese the law of the realm where offences against the Hindu religion were to be punished by whipping and the amputation of the hand. The emperor had promised the Hindus to 'let them live under their own laws and customs.' He assured him, however, that he would inflict a milder punishment.

All except the offender were set free and the latter was shut up in the public prison. Bribery at last solved the problem. Through the mediation of a eunuch Manrique supplied the wife of the judge valuable presents and secured the liberty of his companion.⁷⁵

Aurangzeb refused to follow into the footsteps of his predecessors. The liberties of the Hindus were curtailed. The law prevailing in the previous reigns and allowing them freedom in their religious practices, lost its rigidity. The killing of animals, sure to excite the religious feelings of the Hindus, was not considered a crime now.⁷⁶ In the Hindu states, however, none dared do so as the inhabitants might take the law into their own hands and deal out a severe punishment to the culprit. The Hindus in the Mughal territories did take offence at such an outrage and protested strongly in whatever form they could.⁷⁷

FORBIDDEN HINDU PRACTICES

Aurangzeb created certain new crimes by his own regulations. November of 1665 witnessed the abolition of the celebration of the Holi.⁷⁸ The enforcement of the rule in the case of powerful officers seemed quite a difficult job to the censors.⁷⁹ Attempts were made, however, to strengthen the hands of the latter for the purpose of suppressing the celebration of the festival.⁸⁰ The year of the suppression of the Holi witnessed the discontinuance of the Diwali.⁸¹

The Hindus used to close their shops on certain days such as *amavash* and *ekadashi*. They were ordered not to continue the practice in future.⁸²

The Hindus, with the exception of the Rajputs and the Marathas, were forbidden the use of 'Iraqi or Turani horses, elephants and palanquins.'⁸³ Sundry instances of the infringement of the regulation have come down to us. In one case a rider had his horse and saddle confiscated.⁸⁴ The Hindus were also prohibited to carry arms in public.⁸⁵

⁷² Manucci, II, 159-60. ⁷³ Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, 49. ⁷⁵ Manrique, II, 105-15.

⁷⁶ Tavernier, I, 70.

⁷⁸ Religious Policy, 149; Manucci, II, 154. Aina-i-Gujarat, I, 155.

⁷⁹ Religious Policy, 149.

⁸² Aina-i-Gujrat, I, 154-55.

⁸³ Masir-i-Alamgiri, 262-63.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸³ Religious Policy, 150.

⁸¹ Aina-i-Gujrat, I, 155.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 150.

MIA MISCELLANY

By Prof. H. C. BHAYANI.

1. *From the Svayambhūcchandas.*

Svayambhūcchandas (chh. IV-VIII published in *JUB* V, iii, Nov. 1936, pp. 69-193) VIII, 21, gives the following as an illustration of the seventh type of chaḍḍaṇā having the scheme 10 + 8 + 13 :

धणधणु समिद्धहो । पुहवि सिद्धहो । जणमणयणानन्दणहो ।

रणवासहो एन्तहिं । रामाणेन्तेहिं । किउ उम्माह पट्णहो ॥

This is taken from Svayambhū's *Paūmacariu* in which the commencing stanza of Saṁdhi XXXI is as follows :

धण-धण-समिद्धहो । पुहइपसिद्धहो । जण-मण-णयणाणंदणहो ।

वणवासहो जंतहिं । रामाणंतहिं किउ उम्माहउ पट्णहो ॥

This is the ninth quotation so far identified from the *Paumacariu*.

There is unmistakable verbal resemblance between the following two stanzas, the first from the *Svayambhūcchandas*, the second from Svayambhū's *Riṭṭhanemicariu* or *Harivamśa purāṇa* :

वाआला फरुसा विन्धणा । गुणेहिं विमुक्का पाणहरा ।

जिह दुज्जणु सज्जण-उवरि । तिह पसरु ण लहन्ति सरा ।

स्वयंभूच्छंदस् । ६ । ५० ;

(Quoted by Hemacandra also at *Chandonuśāsana* VI, 118.)

दुम्मुह सलोह वणुज्जला । विंधणसीला पाणहरा ।

गुणमुक्का धम्मविवज्जिय । तो वि मोक्ख पावंति सरा ॥

(रिट्ठणेमिचरिउ ॥ घत्ता)

2. *Svayambhū's Indebtedness to Caturmukha.*

That Svayambhū was indebted to his predecessor Caturmukha in point of the construction and form of the Apabhramśa Epic is admitted by himself. In the beginning of his *Riṭṭhanemicariu* or *Harivamśapurāṇa* (I, 2) where Svayambhū makes mention of some of the previous poets and scholars from whose works he derived some sort of help, we read

छंडणिय-दुवइ-धुवएहिं जडिय चउमुहेण समणिय पद्धडिय ।

From the quotations of Caturmukha found in the *Svayambhūcchandas* we can infer that he must have been one of the predecessors of Svayambhū in composing Apabhramśa Epics on the theme of Padmacarita and Harivamśapurāṇa. But no manuscript of Caturmukha's work has come to light so far. Still from the verbal resemblance between a quotation from Caturmukha and a particular line in Svayambhū's *Riṭṭhanemicariu* we can assume that the latter's epics must be containing echoes from the works of the former, just as Puṣpa-danta's *Mahāpurāṇa* exhibits unmistakable influence of Svayambhū's works.

Svayambhūcchandas quotes the following lines under the name of Caturmukha to illustrate the non-position-making character of an Anusvāra appearing on the end syllable of a word :

उआरो बिन्दुजुओ पआवसाणम्मि लहू चउमुहस्स जहा ।

हउँ अज्जुणु, तुम्ह, एउँ रणु, ॥

(*Svayambhūcchandas* under IV, 2)

Riṭṭhanemicariu Saṁdhi—LXVII. (जअह्वहो—जयदथवध) Kaḍavaka 11, Ghatā is as follows :

कुरु पचरिउ अज्जुणेण । ते तुम्हइँ, सो हउँ एउ, रणु ॥

रक्खहो सीमु जयदहहो । लइ धरहु सव्वु मइ एव (एकइँ) खणु ॥

Here the resemblance of *b* with the above quoted citation from Caturmukha is very striking. Of course, *Svayambhūcchandas* is published from one manuscript only, is corrupt in numerous places and in one case at least the MS wrongly assigns a quotation to Caturmukha, though really it is from Svayambhū. Still as all the three quotations under *Svayambhūcchandas* IV, 2 are given under Caturmukha's name we may not doubt the authenticity of ascriptions in these cases.

REVIEW

Bajirao I and Maratha Expansion. By Dr. V. G. DIGHE, M.A., Ph.D., Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1944, Rs. 6/-.

This study of the career and achievement of Peshwa Bajirao I was originally submitted as a Thesis for the Ph.D. degree of the Bombay University. Dr. Dighe had the good fortune of working under the able guidance of the eminent historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who contributes a foreword to the present volume. We have a right to expect, therefore, that the book bears all the marks of sound historical scholarship. There is in evidence here an exhaustive and painstaking study of documents, meticulous care in sifting evidence, diligent attention to details, cautious and balanced judgment on men and events. A glance at the bibliography will show not only that Dr. Dighe has used all available original and secondary sources in Marathi, Persian, English and even Portuguese, but his short, critical notes appraising the historical value of each source material will reveal that he has used them with discernment and discrimination. He seems to have taken especial care in ascertaining the correct dates of the various events falling within his period, pointing out in numerous cases that the dates of documents as given by earlier editors have been incorrect. The evidence on which he has done so is not in every case before the reader, but we trust he has formed his judgment after carefully weighing all the available, relevant material.

We sympathise with Dr. Dighe in the arduous uphill nature of his self-imposed task. The twenty years between 1720-40 which form the subject-matter of his study are crammed full with battles, campaigns, wars, diplomatic intrigues and internecine faction-fights; and the untiring patience with which he has waded through this tangled skein and tried to build out of it a coherent, meaningful whole deserves unstinted admiration and gratitude. Bajirao himself undoubtedly had an easier job of playing the hero in an eventful life of storm and stress. He could meet each difficult situation as it arose with the single object of mastering it in accordance with the promptings of his mother wit, trained imagination and instructed judgment. It was neither necessary nor possible for him to plan his life as a whole. For the concrete setting and texture of the situations which for him still lay in the future were made up as much of his own conduct as of the conduct of those of his contemporaries whose life cut across his, and the conduct of each successively furnished the stimulus to, and was the reaction of, that of the others. There was thus an insuperable double difficulty for him who wished to design his life ahead in all its concrete detail. Bajirao, therefore, like the rest of us, dealt with his life piecemeal and did not bother about coherence and consistency, except the consistency of expediency in his reactions to situations. The historian, however, from the vantage-ground of today, can view the whole life of the historical personage, spread out before him; and he tries to discern in it a design which he asserts was consciously woven by the personage in question. It is this which he stresses when he speaks of the character and achievement of a great personality. Dr. Dighe has made a heroic attempt to discover to us 'the springs of action' of his historical characters. Bajirao's achievement, for example, is summed up as consisting in 'the establishment of supremacy in the Deccan and of political hegemony in the north.' (p. 203). But was this the object which Bajirao pursued with singleminded devotion? We cannot say for certain. There was with him, as with most leaders of men a regrettable confusion between personal and national interest. His motive was self-aggrandisement, as Shahu once accused him; (p. 200) and as his conduct with other Maratha chiefs clearly revealed. Did he not send secret agents to the Sidi Commandant encouraging him in his resistance against the Pratinidhi? (p. 62). Let us, however, say that he tried hard to make his self-interest consistent with national glory. But even on this basis his conduct does not fall into a coherent system. Why did Bajirao help the Nizam against Mubariz Khan in 1724, when the Nizam had already declared his inveterate hostility to the Marathas since his first viceroyalty of the Deccan during 1713-15? It was with Maratha help that the Nizam became 'firmly entrenched in his position and began to weave plots against the Marathas' (p. 11). Bajirao seems to have had a confirmed weakness for the Nizam. When in 1737 he invaded the north the Nizam decided to make common cause with the Imperial government of Delhi. With this object in view he left the Deccan, alleging that he was proceeding to Delhi 'to pay homage in person to his liege-lord and wash away the infamy of being looked on as a rebel'. Jadhav, who was sent to comprehend the secret object of the Nizam's visit to the Emperor, was completely taken in by his friendly declarations, with the result that the Nizam was not only allowed to proceed unmolested but was even escorted part of the way by the Peshwa's troops. Even Dr. Dighe throws up his hands in despair and exclaims that 'Bajirao's conduct in giving the Nizam a free passage remains inexplicable.' Instances might be easily multiplied from the history of the Marathas as of other peoples. The famous essayist Montaigne has an essay, 'of the Inconstancy of our

Actions,' which is full of historical examples. One brings out the point with especial neatness: 'Who could believe it to be the same Nero, the perfect image of all cruelty,' says Montaigne, who having the sentence of a condemned man brought to him to sign, as was the custom, cried out, 'O, that I had never been taught to write!' so much it went to his heart to condemn a man to death.' Thus for all practical purposes we are all split personalities, 'lumps of so various and infirm a contexture, that every piece plays every moment its own game, and there is as much difference betwixt us and ourselves as betwixt us and others.' The truth of the matter is that it is only an omniscient intelligence that can resolve the contradictions in human behaviour. It is for this same reason that all attempts at a philosophy of history, at giving a comprehensive and consistent explanation of all historical facts is for ever doomed to failure.

This is not to belittle the good work done by Dr. Dighe in filling in the bold outlines of Bajirao's personality with many an interesting detail. We agree with him that the high water-mark of scholarship consists in 'using the historical sense and exercising the historian's creative faculty in the selection and interpretation of facts.' (p. 217). But we demur to calling it writing history in a 'scientific manner.' Scientific or pure history is only historical method, which consists of purely formal rules universally valid by whose help we may ascertain whether an event in the past actually happened or did not happen. It is similar to the method of the judge when he investigates a case in his court. But neither he nor the historian can arrive at judgment in a concrete case by using the methods of science. It is a work more akin to aesthetic appreciation, in the field of art and not of science. It is the application of formal rules within the framework of a particular set of values in which the historian implicitly believes. Hence when an historical judgment is held forth as 'scientific', it is important to bear in mind, that there is behind it a scale of values in disguise which necessarily cannot possess universal validity. This constitutes a definite limitation on the application of scientific methods to human problems.

It is this same notion of history, we are afraid, which is responsible for the exaggerated significance attached to Bajirao's achievement. Even Sir Jadunath calls him 'truly a Carlylean Hero as King—or rather as 'Man o. action.' Shivaji and Bajirao, our author tells us, 'tower head and shoulders above their contemporaries: their policies and actions completely influenced and moulded the shape of things to come.' It is astonishing to find this Great-man theory of history, in all its crudity, still holding the field in this century of the common man. Let not any man, be he never so great, be he a Christ, a Buddha, or a Gandhi delude himself into the belief that he has the power to shape as he likes the common clay of humanity. Not much harm is done if humbler folk like ourselves hold to this naive belief. But if one of the little great men of history gets into his head this strange conceit, we today know to our cost what terrible havoc it makes of the lives of millions of innocent human beings!

Let us by contrast bring into clearer relief the scale of values behind the author's estimation of the achievement of Bajirao. He was a great soldier and greater general; this is all that can be said of him. Even here he placed his self higher than the state, the concern for fulfilling the Great Shivaji's dream of a Hindu domination merely serving as effective camouflage to conceal his own self-interest. Besides, he did not know how to shed ineffaceable glory on his own names by doing something that would benefit his people permanently! (p. 208). In this matter of constructive statesmanship Bajirao compares unfavourably with the great conquerors of the past. Alexander was a great soldier but was also a great civilizer. Napoleon valued his legal code more than his conquests. It is certainly not correct to place him by the side of Shivaji in this respect at least.

Bajirao's expansionist policy, too, cannot merit unqualified approval at the hands of the historian. He himself has given a spirited defence of it in a speech before the Maharajah. His argument as summed up and approved of by Dr. Dighe sounds plausible. 'To the energies of his people that were being wasted in civil war and internecine struggle, he would find new outlets and direct them towards foreign conquests.' But his professions and practice were at variance. The twin arms of his policy, expansion and centralization, could ill go together. He never gave a free hand to the other Maratha chiefs to carve out principalities for themselves. He wished to concentrate all power into his own hands, which roused against him 'almost national resentment and united against him the entire court.' (p. 48). The reconstructed Peshwaship, after the precarious days of Rajaram's struggle with the Mogul power, was just six years old. It was, to say the least, audacious on the part of Bajirao to seek so early to establish the Peshwa's over-all supremacy in Maratha politics. If the several Maratha chiefs had been encouraged by the Peshwa to subjugate the distant parts of India and to establish themselves therein in virtually independent positions, Maratha power would have spread itself throughout the length and breadth of the country. In time there naturally would have sprung up some system of balance of power among the various chiefs. If in the intervening years the power and prestige of the Peshwaship had continued to increase, it would have been possible for some later Peshwa, with a little more of the constructive genius of the Romans than that possessed by Bajirao, to bring under the hegemony of the Peshwa a loosely-knit Maratha empire. Even if such an attempt at supremacy and domination had failed—and it could never have succeeded per-

marantly—it would certainly have given a longer lease of life to the Maratha power in India. Bajirao's premature bid for power sowed the seeds of discord among the Maratha nobility, who often times allied themselves with the enemies of all the Marathas to preserve their own independence. These internal dissensions sapped their strength and prevented the rise and growth of a common Maratha consciousness. Thus from the beginning conditions were rendered impossible for the emergence of a strong, centralized nation-state of the Marathas.

The rise of nation-states in Europe and their later policy of Imperialism afford an instructive parallel. The birth of these states was almost always the result of a violent struggle between the warring feudal chiefs, the people rallying under the banner of one who appeared to be stronger than all the rest. Once established, these states pursued their policy of peaceful penetration and parcelled out among themselves almost the whole of Asia and Africa. While their energies were directed to the exploitation of backward peoples, there was less occasion for a major internecine struggle, some kind of balance of power maintaining an uneasy peace in the European state system. Admittedly it rested on insecure foundations, its equilibrium being now and then disturbed by, some ambitious state wanting to dominate the whole of Europe. But once the limit was reached to further imperialist exploitation, there was no other way for a powerful state to secure further expansion, to get a place in the sun, as she called it, except by making a bid virtually for world domination. To this day such an attempt has always ended in disaster for the aggressive state. However reactionary it may appear to some, it must be stated that the attempt to guarantee peace, security and freedom to the peoples of the world by some single state or group of states exercising world dominion is fraught with the most disastrous consequences. Lord Acton's dictum that power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely must never be lost sight of. The only antidote against the dangers of such corruption is a wide diffusion of power and distribution of sovereignty among a number of states. It is only by the mechanics of equilibrium, by preserving some sort of balance between competing states that reasonable peace and security can be maintained. So long as centripetal and centrifugal forces continue to struggle in the life of individuals and nations, there can be no other effective technique for securing the barest minimum of peace on earth and goodwill among men.

In the light of this conception of sovereignty, let us briefly examine the nature of the Maratha claims for Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. Dr. Dighe asserts that 'it is misleading to speak of these grants as concessions made to the Maratha marauders by their Mughal overlords.' (p. 86). They were in the nature of a tribute from subject states to the Marathas whom they thereby acknowledged as the sovereign power. Several considerations militate against such a view : The subject states never seem to have paid in peace the tribute due from them ; a Maratha army had to march year in and year out to exact it. They evaded payment wherever they could, and only paid up when forced into a tight corner. Besides the Marathas, for all their claims to sovereignty, seem to have been very anxious to get their exactions 'legitimised' and 'made legal' by a firman from the Emperor. This does not quite square with their claim to sovereign status. Again, the Marathas do not appear to have exercised any other control over the state paying Chauth, e.g. its foreign policy. Would it be quite correct to say that the Nizam became a tributary vassal of the Marathas because in 1724 'he agreed not to oppose the collection of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in the six subhas of the Deccan and reissued the grants under his signature?' (p. 97). It is perhaps best to regard the strictly legal, Austrian conception of sovereignty as inapplicable to the shifting politics of those days. There was too much instability in the configuration of political forces to locate definitely the centre of sovereignty over a considerable period. A modern example might perhaps throw some light on the point. During the inter-war period a powerful state like Germany exercised a good deal of control over the economic life of the smaller neighbouring states ; yet from the point of view of international relations, they were regarded as virtually sovereign states.

This cursory examination of 'a less known chapter of Maratha history' must have revealed that a competent historian must possess rare intellectual gifts, which are rarer still in their combination. He must have a keen, analytical mind, able to stand the rigour of logical and scientific exactitude ; at the same time he must possess the vision of genius in order 'to see life steadily and see it whole' and thereby to transform a bald chronicle into the living meaningful pages of history. He must have the miser's passion for minute and also the fine *abandon* of the true artist. While he must diligently collect and verify each single, isolated fact, his work must possess the architectonic quality in an eminent degree. While tireless striving and unswerving devotion characterize his search after truth, he is without the least touch of that dogmatism which preaches its own particular truth as the whole truth. He must be scientist, philosopher, artist, statesman, man of the world. In one illuminating phrase he must be able to see the One in the Many and the Many in the One. Dr. Dighe possesses in considerable measure many of these qualities and his book deserves to be read by all careful students of Maratha history.

